

The New World Order

S.Z.Batten



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THE NEW WORLD ORDER



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Gordon S. Watkins

By

SAMUEL ZANE BATTEN

"We are laying the foundations of a new world"
—David Lloyd George

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Gordon S. Watkins

PREFACE

THE men of to-day stand upon a peak in Darien. Behind lies the world they have known, with its trials and failures. Beyond lies the uncharted sea, and the great unknown time. The world war represents the passing of the old order and the end of an epoch. A new day is begun, a page of new achievements is upturned. The old order passes from view; the new world is rising upon our vision.

The world can never again be as it has been. The house has collapsed, and its structure is discredited. In this period of reconstruction it is imperative that men should know what are the defective principles of the old order that must be kept out, and what are the true principles that should be builded in as the very foundations of the house that is to be. What kind of world order do we want? What are the principles and ideals that should guide us in our plan-

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ning? What are the immediate things in our efforts, and what are the ultimate ends? What are the forces and factors on which we may count for aid and inspiration? These are questions of first importance in this hour.

This little book suggests the answer to some of these questions. But it is simply the outline of a great subject. It makes no attempt to discuss the social order and the international situation in detail, or to interpret in all possible bearings the new policies and programs. It does seek to interpret some of the movements of the time, to state some of the questions that are up for a hearing, and to suggest the direction of movement in social effort. A few aspects only of the great social task are noted, with constant recognition, however, that these must be viewed together in their relation to the one enterprise. The question of international justice is closely related to the condition of economic life at home.

In view of the fact that the settlement of the issues pending depends upon the people

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of the nations, it is necessary that the discussion of questions of reconstruction be seriously undertaken by leaders of thought in Church and State. More than that, the people must have the mind to understand the questions at issue and the heart to undertake great enterprises for the kingdom of God.

Some suggestions for further study of the questions discussed will be found in the references appended.

JANUARY 1, 1919.

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I

THE OLD AND THE NEW

Behold, I am making all things new.—*The Revelation 21 : 5.*

And this word, Yet once more, signifieth the removing of those things that are shaken, as of things that have been made, that those things which are not shaken may remain.—*Hebrews 12 : 27.*

But, according to his promise, we look for new heavens and a new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness.—*2 Peter 3 : 13.*

Don't be always talking about going back to where you were before the war; get a really new world.—*Premier Lloyd George.*

Count Okuma, one of the oldest, most experienced, and ablest of the statesmen of Japan, watching the present conflict from the other side of the globe, declares it to be nothing less than the death of European civilization.—*Draft Report on the General Policy of Reconstruction of the British Labor Party.*

He must have a callous soul who can pass through times like these and not hear a voice, whose call a man must answer or lose his soul. Your country needs *you*. The kingdom of God on earth needs *you*. The cause of Christ is hard bested, and righteousness is having a heavy battle in the earth—they need *you*.—*Harry Emerson Fosdick.*

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The world is in a transition period. When the sun went down Friday night, July 31, 1914, it set upon an order that has forever passed away. The world war, whatever may be the changes it brings in world geography, represents the close of an age and the opening of a new epoch; it began as a world war, it has developed into a world revolution. It marks a change of front of the universe.

Things are in a state of flux. Events in society and the processes of history have heated the furnace sevenfold, and into the fires have gone the ideas and ideals of men, the institutions of society, and the policies of nations. This fluid material of life is ready to be run into new molds and be hardened into form. There never has been such an hour for a thousand years past. There may not be another such hour for a thousand years to come. This makes at once the crisis and the opportunity of our time.

I. The Present Hour is a Veritable Judgment-day. The root idea of judgment is revelation and disclosure. Now hidden

things are brought to light and the thoughts of many hearts are revealed. Defects in the social order and in the foundations of society are made to appear. The fact that the old order produced such fruits as we everywhere see is evidence that its foundations are unsound. Here is the world war itself, the greatest calamity that has ever befallen the human race. In our nation is disclosed a serious situation that almost makes our hearts stop beating. In the industrial world we face a condition of strife and confusion but little short of civil war. The fact that such strife exists shows conclusively that something is wrong with the principles and methods of industry. In modern society we see such evils as disease, poverty, crime, and misery. The fact that such things exist points to some fundamental defects in the social order. All this contains a challenge and a summons.

In the revealing fires of judgment the world is gaining a new vision. Upon the men of this time is breaking the light of a new social order. The outstanding fact of to-day is the rediscovery of the kingdom of God. To the world this comes almost as a new revelation from heaven. For eighteen hundred years men have believed in this kingdom and have prayed for its coming;

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but now at last conception of its meaning becomes larger and more true. We are coming to see that the kingdom of God in Christ's conception never means anything less than a righteous human society on earth. Christ has come, not to condemn the world, but to save the world. He has come to reveal a kingdom in heaven and to realize a kingdom on earth. He has come not alone to save people out of the world and fit them for a far-away heaven; but to make a heaven here. He has come not to patch up human society and make the world a little less intolerable for men; but to make all things new and to create a new social order.

In this new vision we find the summons to a great new task. The men of good will are summoned to arise and build a Christian social order. We are called to find the defects in the present social order and to lay new and Christian foundations. We are called by the Christian hope to reconstruct the social order in accord with the will of God and the ideal of the kingdom. This is a large undertaking; but nothing less than this can meet the situation or satisfy the Christian ideal. We need to beware of piece-work and half-way measures. The fundamental defect is with society itself: it is organized on a Roman and pagan basis,

and not on a just and Christian foundation. We can meet the need, therefore, not by patchwork, but by reconstruction, radical and thorough. Christ has come not to patch up the old, but to make all things new.

II. This Undertaking is most Vital at this Time. First of all, what kind of world shall we live in during the coming days? Will it be the same old world with the same old evils and miseries? Will it contain within itself such unspeakable tragedies as this world war? Will the nations that have learned at such infinite cost the lesson of discipline and control, nevertheless revert to the old order and allow selfishness and injustice to have their way? Will employers and workers remain apart and the industrial world be the scene of strife and confusion? Will society that has shown an interest in the welfare of the child and the health of the people, forget that interest when peace comes, and fall back into the old condition?

In that case it does not matter much how the war goes. If our children and our children's children must face such evils and endure such agonies, it does not matter much which side is victorious. But if the war which shows us the defects in the social order at the same time shows us the way of progress, we shall then be willing to pay the

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price of victory. And if through the smoke of the battle-field and the tears of sorrow we can catch the clear vision of a better world, we can accept our cross and bear it with joy and confidence. Let men see that the hope of social reconstruction is wrapped up in the victorious outcome of the war, and we have unified the nation and have filled men with an inspired devotion. The people were united in the prosecution of the war, because they were inspired with the hope of a better world after the war.

On this question we have some vital testimony. The archbishop of York, in his visit to the United States, spoke clearly on the change that had come over the people of Britain. He declared that the hope of the future of Britain lies in the possible extent to which this new spirit can be carried into social reconstruction. And he writes: "So far as I have been able to observe, there is this great difference in the effect which the war has had so far on public opinion in England and the United States: We all feel in England that the war has compelled us to reconsider in a very wide and deep way the whole character of our social system. The thought of social reconstruction is only less constantly in the minds of the people than the immediate progress of the war itself.

We all feel that the war came to us at a time when we were all becoming conscious that our social system was revealing very deep defects, and our great trust is that the spirit of common fellowship which the war has called out may be transmuted after the war into an impulse toward wider social reconstruction, carried through in the same spirit of common fellowship and sacrifice." He tells us further how the soldiers at the front feel this : " They seem to respond readily and with enthusiasm to the prospect that they will return home to take a place in the building of a new and better social system. Indeed, this is coming to fill a larger place in the consciousness of most people than the appeals for solidness and enthusiasm in the war. The ready response to these latter we take for granted, as is our national way ; the forefront of our minds is full of thoughts of what is to be done at home after the war is won."

Secondly, if we are to have a better world, we must plan for it. Now that the war is over men face the task of rebuilding the waste places and restoring the many desolations. Just here rises the question which makes the supreme crisis and opportunity of this hour. Will men, weary and visionless, attempt simply to rebuild the old order and

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restore things as they were? Or will they, taught by bitter sorrow and loss and sacrifice, undertake to reconstruct a social order that shall at once seek the divine ideal and prevent the recurrence of such world calamities? Be it noted it is not a question whether changes are coming or not. Great changes are foredoomed and inevitable and cannot be withheld. But it is a question whether there shall be a real and radical reconstruction or a mere patching up of the social order. It is a question whether these changes shall be the mere shifting of material forces, or whether the mighty movements shall be at once aroused and directed by moral and spiritual forces. It is impossible to acquiesce in the present social order; and it is impossible to restore the social *status quo ante* and take up the old story again. It is, therefore, necessary for men to accept the divine summons and undertake the task of building a better social order. But in what spirit shall they undertake this work of social reconstruction, and what are the things that they are really called to do? It is evident that the real struggle is within and the real conquest is over ourselves. Let us conquer ourselves, our cowardice, our sloth, our selfishness, our tendency to postpone action and let things drift, our temptation to compromise

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and half-way measures, and we shall develop an inflexible morale and an unconquerable spirit. As Sir Baden Powell has well said, "The true victory lies not so much in the actual tactical gains on the battle-field to-day, as in the quality of the men who have to carry on the work of the country after the war." The real struggle is at home, with ourselves, in our minds and hearts and wills. The war is a tremendous and tragic fact, and the destiny of humanity for a thousand years will be affected. And yet the war needs to be seen in its true perspective; for it is but an incident in the age-long struggle of humanity toward justice, and truth, and the kingdom of God. Let us see the real meaning of the struggle; let us see light ahead; let us know that the victory for democracy is an immeasurable gain for humanity, and we have conquered ourselves and have already gained the real victory.

III. The People of the Nations Must Interpret and Develop New Policies and Principles. This war may have begun as a world war, but it has become a world revolution. It differs from wars that have gone before in the number of nations involved. But most significant of all, it differs in the way the nations have been compelled to adopt

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new policies and affirm new principles. We are too near these events to see their full significance; these changes, many of them, are in germ only, and it is too early to know their full fruitage. It is worth while, however, to note some of the principles affirmed and the policies suggested.

A. COMMUNITY

1. The human loss and social wastage in infant mortality; the moral and national necessity of child conservation.
2. The social handicap and moral danger in alcoholism and venereal diseases; the necessity of a determined effort to eliminate and prevent these.
3. The danger and loss in disease and premature death; the demand for united action to prevent disease and reduce the death-rate.
4. The danger and loss in crime and degeneracy; the determination to make community life safe, sanitary, wholesome, moral.
5. The relation between bad housing and family dissolution and social evils; the effort to secure for each family adequate housing at reasonable rates.
6. The danger in vicious amusements and injurious recreation; the community effort to provide adequate and wholesome recreation for all.

B. INDUSTRIAL

7. The danger and loss in industrial strife, and a new appreciation of the meaning and value of social justice.

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8. The conviction that industry is an interest within society and must serve society; it must therefore come under the supervision of society and be co-ordinated with its other factors.
9. The recognition that industry is a partnership, and that workers must have a real voice in the direction of industry and an equitable share in the product.
10. The disappearance of class distinctions and the solidarity of all interests in the economic process.

C. NATIONAL

11. The conviction that surplus wealth belongs to society, and the effort to use it for the common good.
12. The conviction that property, skill, life are a social stewardship and have social obligations; they must therefore be held and used for the common welfare.
13. The conception of the nation's welfare as the supreme concern, with the policy that everything shall contribute to this end, and every person must do some useful work.
14. The necessity of a united people and a positive democracy, leading to the creation of an efficient national discipline.
15. A new emphasis upon democracy, and a growing demand for its full realization in political and industrial life.
16. The closer cooperation of the church; a new emphasis upon the social content of the gospel, and a new valuation of the central truths of Christianity, justice, love, brotherhood, self-sacrifice.

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D. INTERNATIONAL

17. The principles of morality, justice, right, and brotherhood are universal in scope, and nations equally with men are under obligation to observe them.

18. The creation of an international mind with a world conscience and a world patriotism; the loyalties of men to one national group must expand into a larger loyalty to all mankind.

19. The world to be made safe for democracy; and the right of every people to liberty and self-government.

20. The interdependence of nations; the certainty that the conditions and policies of one people affect all; and the consequent necessity of all people taking such action as may be required to secure justice for all and to protect each.

21. "The destruction of every arbitrary power anywhere that can separately, secretly and of its single choice disturb the peace of the world; or if it cannot be destroyed, at least its reduction to virtual impotence.

22. "The settlement of every question, whether of territory, of sovereignty, of economic arrangement, or of political relationship, upon the basis of the free acceptance of that settlement by the people immediately concerned, and not upon the basis of the material interest or advantage of any other nation or people which may desire a different settlement for the sake of its own exterior influence or mastery.

23. "The consent of all nations to be governed in their conduct toward each other by the same princi-

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ples of honor and of respect for the common law of civilized society that govern individual citizens of all modern states in their relations with one another; to the end that all promises and covenants may be sacredly observed, no private plots or conspiracies hatched, no selfish injuries wrought with impunity, and a mutual trust established upon the handsome foundation of a mutual respect for right.

24. "The establishment of an organization of peace which shall make it certain that the combined power of free nations will check every invasion of right, and serve to make peace and justice more secure by affording a definite tribunal of opinion to which all must submit, and by which every international readjustment that cannot be amicably agreed upon by the peoples directly concerned shall be sanctioned."

These principles and policies are significant and revolutionary, and open a new chapter in social development and international life. It is too early in the day for any one to indicate all of their implications and applications; in fact, it will require many years and involve many experiments to interpret and realize them. It would be unwise therefore to attempt to frame an elaborate program of social advance and international organization. But it is not too early for us to consider these principles and prepare ourselves for coming changes. The most unwise policy is to live only for the

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day; to let things drift and have no large program at all. Social progress at bottom is a moral and spiritual matter; it depends upon ideas and ideals, upon human hearts and wills. It must therefore be understood, planned for, and willed by men.

These principles and policies must be taken seriously by men and nations. To secure the hearty cooperation of working men; to solidify sentiment within the nation and maintain morale; to unify the allied peoples; to divide the enemy nations, the allied peoples and governments have affirmed these policies and principles. These declarations of the nations must not be regarded as mere death-bed promises—forgotten as soon as the crisis is past and the patient begins to breathe easily again. They must be taken seriously and must be made effective in the life of the world. To treat these declarations as empty words—mere scraps of paper—would stultify the governments themselves and would drive the people into bitter revolt. If that foolish course should be attempted, it would react upon the nations and governments at fault. If that false policy should be followed, it would never again be possible to catch the workers and the people with such words. Fortunately the governments of the allied nations at least

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take these principles at their face value and intend to follow out these policies to the end.

But the outcome will depend upon the rank and file of the people. These policies and principles are all democratic in impulse if not in form. For this reason their full realization will depend upon the intelligence of the people and their understanding of the issues at stake. The democratic ideal can be realized as fast and as far as men learn to cooperate and sacrifice for the common good. This brings us to the next item:

IV. The Preparation of the People for the Work of Reconstruction. The war does not end when the fighting stops and treaties are signed. The war has been conducted with unparalleled fierceness and it has intensified national hatreds. The defeated nations will be sullen and resentful; they will think of the lost cause and will plan some way of retrieving their lost fortune. It will be generations at least, perhaps it will be centuries, before the peoples of the world can trust one another and live in friendship. Unless the nations can see the situation and can adopt just and fair measures, they will lay up for themselves wrath against the day of wrath. Unless they see clearly the underlying causes of war and remove these, they will sow the seeds of future wars

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more wide-spread and destructive. Real peace cannot come by fighting; it must be based deep upon international good will and fair dealing. It is necessary, therefore, that the nations consider the things that are just, that they know the things that make for peace, and that they prepare for a just and peaceful world order.

This work of reconstruction is a hard and long task. We must not make the mistake of supposing that these changes which are so necessary will come of themselves. We must not suppose, either, that the mere affirmation of certain principles, however good, is the end of the campaign. As a matter of fact, their affirmation is simply the first step in a long process. To put these new principles and policies into effect means a hard and bitter struggle. The people must be instructed in the meaning and sweep of these principles; society will have to face the dead inertia of masses of people and the studied opposition of interested groups; many experiments will have to be tried and some mistakes will be made; the way into the better world lies through the land of sacrifice and service.

The most necessary thing at this time is the creation of a state of mind in the people which will make them willing to undertake

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the work of social, national, and international reconstruction. The nation needs an intelligent, just, and Christian body of public opinion. We need a sacrificial attitude of mind which will make men willing to pay the price of social advance. Yet significant and disturbing as it is, here is where democratic peoples are failing most signally. One listens in vain for any large discussion of these great questions in church assemblies. One finds almost nothing in this direction in the organs of public opinion. The nations have declared against secret diplomacy in favor of democratic ideals; and yet the people are ignoring the questions of international justice and are committing them to their rulers. We have affirmed our faith in the principle that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed; yet the people do not seem to know what are the deeper issues at stake or how the changes may be accomplished. The so-called leaders of the nations, in Church and State, seem to have no vision of the new world order and have no word to offer. In Britain it may be said there is a growing appreciation of the coming change and a brave effort to prepare for it. The British labor leaders have put forth a pronouncement which is one of the wisest and most states-

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manlike documents thus far produced; it has been aptly called the Magna Charta of the New Democracy. In America the recognized leaders in both church and the labor world have lagged behind and have spoken no commanding message. This blindness to the larger issues, this unconcern for the future, this absence of any large program is one of the most ominous facts of the hour. Part of it is due to timidity and confusion within; much of it is chargeable to the democratic habit of thinking of the next campaign and ignoring the larger future.

The way out is the way forward. "Don't be always talking about going back to where you were before the war; get a really new world," said Lloyd George. "You cannot have the world as it was. It was a libel on Jesus Christ. It was a shame upon his name." The old order is broken and discredited; the molds of the new world are being made. Do we know what kind of world we want? Do we know the next steps in Christian progress? Have we the faith and courage to set about the making of the new world? Can the Church and the State give men a wise and strong leadership in this great hour? The men of to-day must build the world of to-morrow. There has never been such a challenge to the church,

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never such an opportunity before it. There has never been such need of men of faith and vision. The new principles which have been affirmed, often indefinitely and tentatively, must be interpreted in their sweep and must then be incorporated in human thinking. The new policies that have been accepted, in part at least, must be developed and become the settled policy of the nations. The new impulses awakened, the spirit of self-sacrifice evoked, must be conserved in new national institutions and new international guaranties. If men could forget the lessons learned at such frightful cost we might well despair of man's ability to learn anything. If the people will heed the call of God and follow the Christ in the task of social reconstruction, they may really shape the outlines of a new and better world.

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II

THE REBUILDING OF THE COMMUNITY

And I saw the Holy City, the New Jerusalem, coming down out of heaven from God, made ready as a bride adorned for her husband.—*The Revelation 21 : 2.*

Jerusalem shall be called The City of Truth; and the mountain of the Lord of hosts, The Holy Mountain. . . And the streets of the city shall be full of boys and girls playing in the streets thereof.—*Zecariah 8 : 3, 5.*

Every church should have a constructive program for serving the social needs of its community, both individually and through the largest possible cooperation with other agencies of human uplift.—*The Social Service Commission of the Northern Baptist Convention.*

The Commonwealth of God as the ideal social order has come only as far and as fast as men have consciously joined with the purpose of Jesus. Constantly betrayed he is never defeated. . . He voices both the ideal of man and the eternal purpose. He joins together in his personality the will of God and the desires of men. He makes the divine human and the human divine. The future belongs to those who work with him. They share his immortality of purpose and power. To create the Christian Commonwealth by Christianizing community life—this is to bring the new Heaven and the new Earth.—*Ward and Edwards, in "Christianizing Community Life."*

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The present is a time of social self-revelation. Men have known for centuries that social evils existed, that these evils blighted human lives and cast heavy burdens upon society. But few persons realized the extent or the harmfulness of these evils. Many refused to look the facts in the face and declared that the evils were greatly exaggerated. And in general men felt little interest in the program of reform; in one way and another they evaded responsibility and did nothing. But in recent times these evils have forced themselves upon men's attention. And in the crisis of the world war many things have been brought home to the people with a new appeal. Alas, that it should have required such a world disaster to force men to see the things that ought to have been so evident.

In the revealing light of to-day we see the extent and menace of these social evils. The scientist has known that we were wasteful of child life; in America there are fully

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three hundred thousand needless deaths among children each year; but war has forced home upon us the meaning of this waste. Now the nation is alarmed, and the people are asking what they can do to prevent this loss. Social workers have known how prevalent and deadly were venereal diseases, how they are responsible for a large proportion of broken lives, of brain and nervous disorders; how they are the cause of feeble-minded children and ruined manhood. But the war forced us to see the menace in these diseases to the efficiency of the army and the winning of the war. So the government has taken heroic measures to reduce the evil and protect the soldiers from contamination. Sanitarians have known that many of the people were suffering from various ills that reduce men's working efficiency and cause much misery. We have known in a general way that many were defective at some point, physical or mental. In the four years before the war it appears, according to figures of the surgeon general of the United States, that seventy-eight per cent of the men volunteering for army service were defective and had to be rejected. But the war revealed the seriousness of this fact and its menace to the nation. In all times men have seen the evil of poverty and

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have lamented its prevalence. But it is only in these latter times that we have seen its real nature and have measured its results. We see that the most tragic fact about poverty is not the hunger and the cold, though these are sad enough; the real tragedy is lack of opportunity and meagerness of life. In its results it both impairs the vitality of the nation and causes bitter resentment. In all lands also there has been industrial friction with class arrayed against class in bitter strife. But the world war has revealed the extent and danger of this friction; it breaks the unity of the people and hinders the productive power of the nation. More than that, it sadly discounts our Christianity and discredits our civilization. Thus whichever way one turns, he beholds human sorrow, social evils, industrial strife, bitter warfare.

It has become evident that the present social order is in large part responsible for the prevalence of these evils. Social conditions are the chief cause of these social tragedies; as long as these conditions exist we can neither cure nor prevent social waste and misery. Any one who has eyes to see knows that many things are wrong in the present social order. Our cities are dirty, ugly, unwholesome, unsanitary; in many sections it is practically impossible to live a normal,

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healthy, moral life. Our civilization has its brighter side and has brought wealth and opportunity to many. But it has its darker side, and this means waste and disease, poverty and misery to millions. The principles and policies of the nations have resulted in the greatest war of all history. Thus the present time witnesses the virtual breakdown of the present social order.

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An evil well discovered is half cured. To-day as never before men are feeling these evils and are trying to find the causes and the remedy. Society ought to have felt the evil and damage of such things long ago; and society as a matter of moral right ought to have set about the prevention and cure of these evils. To-day as a matter of self-preservation the nation is forced to grapple with disease and poverty, drink and venereal disorders, and to undertake their cure. Whatever may be the occasion and the motive, men are summoned to reconstruct the social order and thus prevent these evils and promote human well-being.

Three things are significant here: Men are growing a conviction that these evils are unnecessary and can be cured; they are searching for causes and remedies; and they are determined to build a better and more Christian social order.

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I. The Search for Causes. The time was when men accepted the dark and tragic things of the world as a matter of course. These things are here in some mysterious providence. Some of them are inevitable and necessary; they must therefore be endured for the present. Some of them are a part of life's discipline; but never mind, things will be adjusted in another world and evened up yonder. All we can do is to alleviate distress and make our human lot a little more endurable.

This answer no longer satisfies the man who believes in Jesus Christ. He tells us that God loves the world and wants all men to know and rejoice in his love. He tells us that it is not the will of the Father in heaven that one of his little ones should perish. And he shows us that the will of God is the sweetest, gladdest, brightest thing that the heart of the Father can wish for his children. Further, he declares that Christ came, not to condemn the world, but to save the world. The will of God is a will to all goodness and justice and peace. The evils that afflict our humanity and ruin so many lives are, therefore, not due to the will of God; they are contrary to the Father's purpose and must no longer be accepted as divine or necessary.

The order that exists to-day is not the order that God wills and ordains. The heavenly Father does not wish and does not ordain that Lazarus shall starve at the gate while Dives feasts in the palace; he does not ordain that slums shall exist where infants pant for air and wail out their little lives; he does not wish that in crowded tenements not fit for pigsties, mothers shall fight with fever and girls shall make a losing fight for virtue; he does not ordain that saloons shall exist where men are tempted to drink, or that a certain proportion of women shall be tolled off to minister to the lawless passions of men; he does not ordain that one man shall become the possessor of millions of money and shall control the lives of thousands of men, while the great mass of men must toil without hope and labor for an inadequate wage; he does not ordain that a few men shall control the land and trade and industry, while the great mass of men are aliens in the land of their birth, without possessions and opportunity and true home life. To say that God wishes and ordains all this is to impeach at once his goodness and his love. To oppose these social evils, to declare that they are evils, to believe that God is against them and is with us in trying to destroy them, to believe that they can be

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destroyed, is the true Christian attitude to-day.

One of the most significant discoveries of our time is this: Things have causes; and social evils have social causes. These causes are many and complex. Some of them are personal; but many of them are social. Many of these miseries are due to men themselves, to their blundering, their ignorance, their meanness and selfishness. But beyond this, they are due to defects and maladjustments in the social order and to bad social conditions. The causes of disease are many and various. Some are personal and are found in the vices of men. Much sickness is due to ignorance and neglect. But the causes of many diseases are bad social conditions, bad housing, overcrowding, unsanitary conditions, and civic neglect. Much crime can be traced back to the individual himself, to his ignorance, his selfishness, his choice of evil. But this is only half the story, for crime is no less a social product. It is due to evil surroundings, to bad companions, to foul literature, to evil suggestions. Pres. G. Stanley Hall is right; that every society has the number and kind of criminals that it makes and deserves. The time was also when all poverty was charged up against the individual himself, to his own

laziness and shiftlessness. But we know today that much poverty is due to social causes, to lack of industrial training, to unemployment, to accident, to economic maladjustment, to monopoly and exploitation. And so Prof. Amos R. Warner is justified in his declaration that seventy-four per cent of the poverty in our land is due to causes over which the individual himself has no control. And misery is due no less to social causes and conditions, as is shown very clearly in Professor Devine's study of "Misery."

We do not mean to ignore the personal element, for this counts for much in the lives of men and the failures they make. Yet the fact remains that these social evils are due in large part to causes over which the individual himself has no control. They are the direct result of defects and maladjustments in the social order. They can be cured, therefore, not by individual effort and action alone, but by removing defects in the social order and changing social conditions. As long as these conditions exist, so long will these evils follow. As long as such defects are here, we will work at a fatal disadvantage in trying to reach individuals and save society. Our duty therefore, is clear: we must find the defects and maladjustments

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in the social order and reconstruct that order both to cure and to prevent such social evils. This demands some deep and radical changes, it implies a complete reconstruction of the community life.

II. The Need of a Larger Program. As every one knows, the Christian discipleship has felt these evils of humanity and the Christian spirit has moved men to many forms of helpful service. In the generations past great things have been done in the name of Christ to relieve distress, to lift up the fallen, to reform the delinquent, to mitigate human suffering. To enumerate these efforts and achievements would require a large volume. This work has been done by Charles Loring Brace in "*Gesta Christi*," by Lecky, and others. We cannot too highly honor the efforts of men to express the spirit of Christ and to help their fellows.

These efforts, however, have been largely confined to individual work with individuals. And they have mainly limited themselves to relieving distress and dealing with results. The churches have striven earnestly to "rescue the perishing, to care for the dying"; they have sought to save the individual and to build him up in Christ Jesus. So they have preached the gospel, distrib-

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uted Bibles, conducted rescue missions, and provided Sunday Schools. They have created many agencies of helpful service—as hospitals, orphanages, relief stations, and Red Cross societies. The public school has gathered and trained the children and has taught physiology and hygiene; it has tried to secure a sound mind in a sound body; and its efforts have been crowned with remarkable success. The community has provided soup-kitchens and parks for the people; it has sustained a police department and a charity organization society. The state has passed laws to punish and restrain the delinquent; it has built prisons and reformatories, hospitals, and sanitariums for the care of the diseased. All of this work is most worthy and is productive of large results; much of it must continue for a long time to come.

But it has become very clear that this is not enough. Our plans and efforts fail to secure the largest results because they deal with symptoms and not with causes. They fail to reduce the amount of misery because they seek to relieve and not to prevent. They seek to cure evils by amelioratives when they should find fundamental defects and change the social order. Soup-kitchens, rescue missions, orphanages, hos-

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pitals, prisons, and reformatories do much good and are wholly necessary at this stage. At best, however, they are palliatives and makeshifts; they may help individuals but do not change conditions; they relieve distress but do not prevent evils. We are trying to get beneficent and Christian results out of an unchristian social order. "Who can bring a clean thing out of an unclean? Not one." "A corrupt tree cannot bring forth good fruit." As long as these defects in the social order remain, so long we work at a disadvantage. As long as evil conditions continue in our communities, we shall find ourselves defeated at every turn and shall have a flood of social evils.

We need a large, comprehensive, scientific, and constructive program of social reconstruction. We need a program that shall take into account the great factors and forces that enter into the making of life and the processes of society. It has become evident that social conditions, such as moral atmosphere, companions, saloons, red-light districts, housing regulations, industrial methods, income, and recreation, have much to do with the shape and bent of the life, with personal morality, disease and crime, the death-rate of children, church attendance, poverty, and misery. Individual

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health is menaced in unsanitary surroundings ; it is no defense against unsanitary conditions. Personal morality is difficult in immoral surroundings; it can hardly resist the down-drag of a vicious environment. In a more positive way we must recognize the factors that develop capacity and make for human well-being. The saved soul demands a safe environment. Three-fourths of the children who come before juvenile courts come because of a perverted play instinct. Society must therefore provide means of recreation that shall both keep the child from vicious ways and really develop character.

It is just here that we see the lack in many of the plans and methods to-day : They deal with symptoms when they should deal with causes. They seek to relieve evils by amelioratives when they should deal with fundamental defects and change the social order. Many of the books and plans dealing with social questions are interesting and well meaning, and perhaps suggest some remedies that will accomplish much good. But nine-tenths of them concern themselves with symptoms merely ; they never touch fundamental issues and never catch sight of underlying principles. They move in the realm of palliatives and amelioratives ; they either do

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not see the defects in the existing system or they are afraid to disturb it. It may be said of them as it was said of the unskilful physicians of old, "They heal the hurt of the daughter of my people but slightly." Three-fourths of our efforts are wasted because we ignore fundamental causes and accept existing conditions. Three-fourths of the discussions of the social problem deal with incidentals merely and ignore the fundamental issue of social justice. We are trying to rescue souls out of the slums, but we accept slums as a matter of course. Our first duty is to abolish the slum itself. We nurse the sick and build sanitariums for the tubercular; but we permit men to build and rent unsanitary tenements. Our first duty here is to build cities on human and healthful lines. We patch up the social system and try to make life endurable under it; but we stop at the point where our work really begins. We should go forward and demand a better system. Our course is therefore clear; we must change social conditions and build a Christian social order. We must so reconstruct this order as to prevent the tragic ills of society and build up life in its fulness and power.

III. The Program of Reconstruction. In carrying out this program there must be

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some thoroughgoing changes in our methods and some radical reconstruction of the community life.

1. We must search for social defects and deal with social causes. It is not my purpose here to analyze these defects or illustrate the method of inquiry. This work has been largely completed and the main conclusions are within reach. In recent years some pretty thorough studies have been made of such phenomena as disease and poverty, crime and feeble-mindedness; and sociologists are well agreed as to the causes, direct and indirect, of these things. But this knowledge has not entered into the thinking of the people; and it has not determined the people's conscience. Our great duty at this time is to recognize the relation between social causes and social effects, and then to socialize this knowledge of social phenomena. Then in the light of this knowledge we must adopt such measures as may be necessary and change the community order.

*Confutation
of former
statement*

We want to reduce the number of delinquents and lessen the amount of crime. By all means establish Sunday Schools and hold evangelistic meetings. By all means teach children the way of life and urge parents to do their duty. But at the same time and with equal urgency we must abolish the

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things that suggest evil, such as bad pictures and unfit shows. We must get rid of saloons and vicious resorts. And we must demand satisfactory housing conditions for all families and provide adequate and wholesome recreation.

We are anxious to reduce the death-rate and prevent sickness and misery. It is necessary for us to teach the laws of hygiene and provide hospitals and sanitariums. But we must go back and deal with causes which produce unsanitary tenements and over-crowding. This demands that the state have a good building and housing code; it demands that speculative holding of land in and around the city shall cease; it necessitates the full public control of all public service corporations and the provision of such service by the city. So long as public service corporations can obtain exclusive franchises, overissue stocks, pay dividends on "water," they will charge high rates and give inadequate service. The cure and prevention of poverty is one of the aims we set before ourselves. To this end society must provide an adequate education, technical and vocational. The church and home must teach thrift and diligence. But these things alone can neither cure nor prevent poverty. Society must go further and end economic

privilege and monopoly ; it must broaden the way of success for all and keep the door of opportunity wide open ; it must establish full social justice and ensure every person his equity in the national heritage.¹

2. *It is necessary to rebuild the community on human, moral, sanitary, wholesome lines.* One of the oldest traditions of our race says that Cain, after the murder of his brother, went out from the presence of the Lord and built a city. The race has kept up that tradition pretty faithfully ever since, for our cities have been evil and murderous institutions. The city must be rebuilt before the kingdom of God can come and remain. Suppose that by some divine fiat every person in New York City or London could be converted to God and desire to live the Christian life. It is morally certain that they could not live the Christian life in such cities. It is certain that no city of God would be possible in either city ; for true home life is impossible to millions of people ; they could not live normal, healthful, wholesome lives in such conditions. A mission worker in New York City said : " I am more and more convinced as time goes by, that there is no such thing as creating the type of church life we desire in New York either

¹ Todd, "Theories of Social Progress," p. 486.

among the very rich or among the poor, for that matter, so long as unchristian conditions characterize industry, housing, and amusement." These unchristian conditions will not be conquered simply by a general feeling of good will, but require definite and well-thought-out plans of action by which good will may be made to work. That these cities may become cities of God they must be changed and reconstructed from center to circumference. That men themselves in these cities may live as citizens of the kingdom, the entire order of the city, its customs, ideals, its housing, its industry, must be reconstructed and Christianized.

3. *All this demands work along many lines.* It requires a study of social conditions on the part of Christian people. It demands a broad and comprehensive program of social redemption. It demands that we touch life on all sides and deal with all social factors. It implies that we seek to have the life well born and well nurtured. It implies the elimination of social evils that man's life may be freed from the handicaps upon it. It implies the effort to adjust the relations of men all along the line in terms of justice, love, and brotherhood. And it demands some radical changes in the transportation service of the city. It demands a change in the housing

system with adequate provision for family life. It demands some thoroughgoing changes in the industrial order from the wage system to cooperative industry. It demands that we end the reign of privilege and wealth in our land, and make wealth and industry serve life. It will demand such a use of the resources of the nation for the people's benefit as will ensure every person his equity in the national inheritance. It will demand adequate provision for play and recreation, with full opportunity for rest and relaxation. It will demand such changes in the whole educational system as will give every person an adequate training for life and efficiency. It will demand such a renewal of social conditions as shall guarantee every person a fair opportunity in society.

And this implies such a reconstruction of the social order as shall equalize opportunity and give every life full scope. In the present system we find a few people drawing large incomes, holding valuable privileges, living in fine houses; and we find many people with meager incomes, with little opportunity, living in narrow, rented tenements. And all this, be it noted, with little or no relation to the personal merit or demerit of the persons involved. The deeper we go into life, the more closely we study social conditions, the

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more certain it becomes that these things are due to defects and maladjustments in society; and they can be remedied not through personal efforts alone but through changes in the social system. There is food enough for all; there is shelter, clothing, education, opportunity enough for all. Yet many have none of these things. Why not? "It is not the will of the Father who is in heaven that one of his little ones should perish." The Christ has come that men might have life and might have it more abundantly. It is therefore the duty of all who believe in the kingdom of God to seek to secure a more equitable distribution of the resources of society, to equalize opportunity, and to give every person advantageous conditions in the struggle of life.

4. Thus far our program has been largely negative both in spirit and method. It has sought to cure and prevent social loss and failure. This work so necessary at this stage is yet but a part of the redemptive purpose of the kingdom and must be completed in the more positive and constructive program. For Christ has come, not alone to save that which was lost, but to build up the kingdom of God on earth. He has come that men might have life, the abundant life, life physical, life mental, life moral, life

spiritual. It is the Father's will that all shall have this life, that they shall grow tall and straight, with head full, heart full, body strong, spirit free, each and all attaining unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ. The marks of the kingdom are all vital and positive, as Bread, Safety, Fellowship, Health, Beauty, Plenty, Peace, Joy. This world is intended to be the nursery of souls. The community should be a safe place for boys and girls to grow up in. The ideal of the kingdom implies the perfect life in the perfect society. We may be far from attaining this goal either in its personal or its social aspect. But faith consists in the sight of the true ideal, and religion consists in struggle toward it.

It is necessary therefore that the social program should be positive and constructive. It should cure and prevent disease and crime, but in all and through all it should seek to develop health and promote happiness. Relief of suffering and need is the immediate thing; but in all and beyond all the constant effort should be to prevent misery and develop life. It is necessary to rescue the perishing and care for the dying; but it is better to keep men from falling and to train their wills. It is right and Christian to win back the erring and take up

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stumbling-blocks out of the way; but it is quite as right and Christian to make straight paths for men's feet lest that which is lame be turned out of the way, but that it may rather be healed. This suggests a splendid program and calls men to a positive task. It should be our purpose to create such ideals and customs as shall develop capacity and induce a right course of conduct. Men must create such institutions of society as shall serve life and make for happiness, love, justice, plenty. Our task is that of creating a righteous, Christian social order, that shall bless man and advance the whole kingdom of God.

In summary, six things are vital. Social evils have social causes. Men must seek and find these causes and deal with them. They must cultivate an attitude of mind which will make them willing to pay the price of progress. They must set to work to create a just and Christian community life. There are no necessary evils; never again dare we accept poverty and crime, disease and blindness as divine and inevitable. From this time forth we challenge their right to be and demand that they cease. With all the intelligence and conscience at our command we set about the work of building a Christian type of community life.

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III

THE DEMOCRATIZATION OF INDUSTRY

Be not ye called Rabbi: for one is your Teacher, and all ye are brothers.

And call no man your father on the earth: for one is your Father, who is in heaven.

Neither be ye called masters: for one is your Master, even the Christ.—*Matthew 23: 8-10.*

Ye know that they which are accounted to rule over the Gentiles lord it over them; and their great ones exercise authority over them. But it is not so among you. But whosoever would become great among you, shall be your minister, and whosoever would be first among you, shall be servant of all.—*Mark 10: 42-45.*

The passion for democracy has become the master passion of our time. Thus far, however, the idea of democracy has been interpreted and realized in its political bearings and relations. But democracy, we begin to see, is a universal principle, and applies in every relation and realm of society. Some great religious body is needed that shall interpret this great principle not in word only but in life, and shall lead the world in its search for social and industrial democracy, and shall aid in its practical realization in society.—*The Social Service Commission of the Northern Baptist Convention.*

Christian democracy applied to industry means the development of cooperative relations to the fullest possible extent. The church should therefore teach clearly the principle of the fullest possible cooperative control and ownership of industry and the natural resources upon which industry depends, in order that men may be spurred to develop the methods that shall express this principle.—*The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.*

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It is admitted by all that great changes are coming in the industrial order. The catastrophe which has befallen the world in the war, as the British Labor Party's pronouncement of December, 1917, well says, if not the death of European civilization itself, is at any rate the culmination and collapse of a distinctively industrial civilization. The old economic system has practically broken down on our hands and is in disrepute. Confusion and strife have filled the industrial world, issuing in a condition that is little short of civil war. The situation sadly discounts our Christianity and seriously discredits our American democracy: the peace of society is broken and the efficiency of the nation is impaired. Industrial questions have long been exceedingly troublesome; the labor problem is now confessedly the greatest unsolved problem of the world war. Said Sir Stephenson Kent, Director General of Labor Supply of Great Britain, "If Great Britain had only one-eighth of

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the number of labor troubles in the past two years that the United States has had, my country would have had to conclude a disgraceful peace with Germany by this time." Only the fact that we have grown used to these troubles, and our attention has been directed elsewhere, has hidden this scandal and menace from our eyes.

Talk of a return to the industrial conditions that were is ignorant and vain. Reconstruction of the industrial order is a moral and a social necessity.

But what do we wish to reconstruct? What are the fundamental principles that we should recognize and upon which we should build? What are the great ends that we are to seek in and through the industrial order? What changes are necessary in the primary principles and ideas of men? And in what new policies of action and forms of organization shall we seek to embody the new life? These are some of the questions that press upon us as we face the future.

I. The Present Industrial Order is Built upon False Principles and Guided by Unchristian Ideals. Its fundamental principles are selfish and immoral. In some relations of life we expect men to be unselfish and generous; in some realms of society we regard life as a service, and we help one another.

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But in one realm we affirm the law of selfishness and expect men to be self-seeking. In one relation we accept it as a matter of course that men will live and labor for the one end of gain. We should be shocked to find a teacher or preacher or missionary who chose his line of work for the sake of income and riches. But we expect a man to engage in business for this one end only. We do not expect men to be unselfish in their commercial life. We are flatly told, in fact, that to take away the hope of large money gains from men is to cut the nerve of effort. It is assumed that selfishness and self-interest must be the fundamental principles of economic action. However it may be in other realms of life, whatever principles may prevail there, it is assumed that men in the economic world are getting all they can for themselves and are giving as little as necessary to others; "men are free to do one another to the death, provided only the arena be a market and the instrument a bargain."

Now the principles of self-interest and competition by the nature of the case are principles of confusion and division. The methods of competition and self-seeking are causes of friction and warfare. Such principles and methods foredoom the industrial world to be a scene of anarchy and strife.

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They allow economic injustice to thrive; they give scope to the reign of tyranny in society; they sanction and justify the predatory and selfish interests in men. It is impossible for men to be brotherly in an economic order built on selfishness and competition. The goodly fellowship of the apostles could not operate the present industrial system and make its working either just or peaceful.

Our duty is therefore clear: all who believe in Human Brotherhood and the Golden Rule are called to repudiate the false principles of our economic life and to honor the true principles of human association. They are called to change the economic order and make it possible for one to be a Christian. They are to create a social order that will set a premium upon cooperation and brotherliness. They must build an industrial system that will induce men to look on one another's good and to take thought for the common welfare. "Competition is put forth as the law of the universe," says Maurice in a letter to Kingsley.¹ That is a lie. The time is come for us to declare that it is a lie by word and deed.

We all admit that the profit motive vitiates the work of the artist, the physician, the

¹ Maurice, "Life," Vol. II, p. 32.

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minister, the missionary. We must now say that the profit motive vitiates no less the making of pig-iron, the running of a railroad, the conduct of a mill, the plans of a corporation. We must teach that life is a service and one's talents are his means of service. We must teach young men to enter the life of business and industry with the same ideas and motives that they cherish in the family and the church. We must learn to measure success in life, not by the amount of money one has gathered, but by the service he has rendered. We must change the policy of industry from that of industry for profits to that of industry for life. The time is come for the believers in the kingdom of God to affirm the principles of cooperation, of labor copartnership, of industrial democracy. Our task is to honor the true principles of human association in industry as in church, and to say that all human relations must be personal, human, just, brotherly relations. Men will play according to the rules of the game. If society wants better conduct of men in industry, society must change the rules of the industrial system.

II. We Must Make these Ideals Effective in New Methods of Industrial Organization. There are three stages in the development of industrial life. The first is called *status*.

1.

This is represented by slavery in its various forms. Here the worker is born into a certain status or condition, and he has little voice in the choice of his work and little share in the proceeds of labor. This stage has practically passed away, and in form at least, is forever impossible in civilized lands.

2. The second is what is called *contract*, and this is the system that generally exists throughout the world. It is known by various names, but at bottom it is the wage system. On one side is an employer, whether an individual, a company, or a corporation, who has some work to be done for which he is willing to pay a certain wage. On the other side are the working people, whether few or many, organized or unorganized. These are possessed of strength, skill, and labor power which they are willing to sell for a certain wage. As a result of the industrial revolution, brought about by the introduction of power-working machinery, we have large-scale production and corporate control of industry. Now we find the great industries, both in production and in distribution, owned by absentee stockholders who manage the enterprise through directors and superintendents. We find also the workers massed in great numbers, without ownership in their tools or voice in the enterprise,

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controlled and directed by managers and agents. This has brought about one of the most momentous changes in the history of mankind. The economic world as we know it, is broken up into two groups, the employers and employees, and the relation between them has been depersonalized, it has become a mere "cash nexus," and the principle of action is competition.

Not only so, but the present system has destroyed the worker's interest in his work and his incentive to do his best. The processes of industry are beyond his conscious participation; he becomes a part of the machinery and a mere unit in production. On all sides employers complain of their working people because they have no interest and no loyalty. But frankly now, why should a worker have much interest in his work? What is there to be loyal to? Let a man work hard and he becomes a pace-maker for his fellows. However hard he works, he believes that it makes little difference in his pay. And no man can develop much loyalty to a soulless and impersonal corporation.

The wage system has broken down on our hands and is working badly. Misunderstanding, friction, and strife are not mere incidents and accidents. They are not due alone to the follies of working men and the

words of irresponsible agitators; they are inherent in the system itself and will continue as long as the system continues. This system is working at cross-purposes with human nature. Man is a person and not a mere labor unit; he is a being of mind and heart and will. Ruskin was on solid ground when he taught that man was a soul who would not do his best work until his affections and imagination were enlisted. One would lose hope in human nature if men could be contented in such a system. By concessions and compromises, by protocols and trade agreements we may patch up a truce and may tide over some difficulties. But as long as the wage system exists, friction and strife are foredoomed and certain. We must therefore create a system that reduces the chances of friction, that honors human nature and enlists its motives in the work of life; we must have a system that creates a presumption in favor of cooperation and sets a premium upon brotherhood.

3. It is necessary that we pass into the third stage of industry and establish cooperative industry or industrial democracy. It is not possible here to consider all that is involved in this; but some immediate things may be noted. We must say that an industry should be held to consist of the stockholders, the

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managers, and the workers. All the parties in an industry are partners in the enterprise; and its successful working depends upon the cooperation of all and the contribution of each. Each should have a partner's knowledge and a partner's voice in the affairs of the enterprise. Ownership and control of tools and products must be in the same hands. All the partners should share in terms of equity in the control and proceeds of the enterprise. Democracy in industry is just as valid and as necessary as democracy in the state.

III. In this Program of Industrial Democracy, Some Things are Immediate and Some are Ultimate. Full democracy will come as fast and as far as men are prepared for it and practise it. It does not come by wishing or by voting resolutions. We might as well recognize the fact that democracy produces results as far as it finds men who have its spirit and accept its obligations.

i. That democracy may have its perfect work men must be trained to be citizens in industry. Democracy in political relations rests upon the intelligence of the people, and it assumes the competency of the average man in things which concern the public welfare. Democracy in industry is as inevitable and as necessary as democracy in the state.

And democracy in industry must rest upon the interest and cooperation of all the workers. But we cherish no illusions on this point. Nature demands the best, and democracy to justify itself must prove that it is more effective than autocracy. The successful practice of democracy in industry depends upon the interest and skill of the workers. How to secure this is one of the serious problems before society. Our present industrial system has not succeeded at this point. It is wasteful both in human and social values. It is wasteful in that so few workers really do the best work of which they are capable. It is wasteful in that so many workers are really unskilled and will not try to be efficient. It is wasteful because of the frequent shifting of workers; the labor turnover results in a dead loss to all parties. It is wasteful in that it does not develop loyalties; it does not evoke any creative impulses in men; many workers become nomads without any sense of responsibility in society. What can be done to make men qualified and efficient industrial workers?

Mark this: democracy in the state accepts its obligation to prepare people for qualified citizenship; so we have the public school system, from the primary to the university, with many trade and technical schools more

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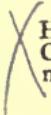
or less public. Industrial democracy must prepare its participants for qualified industrial cooperation. How can this end be attained? Something can be done no doubt by the development of trade-schools, providing technical training and giving vocational guidance. But we must not narrow life too early; man is a mind and heart, and he must think and love. To narrow life and give only a technical education, is to dehumanize man and make him so much less than a man.

We must educate the person, seeking to develop capacity and train man to think and aspire. Then he must be made a qualified economic worker, making a full man's contribution to the values of society. There must be provided an industrial education which shall develop capacity and arouse initiative; it must teach the individuals "to function with conscious creative intention in the environment in which they live"; it must furnish "a basis for critical and informed valuations in industrial activity."² Let us recognize the fact that it is man's duty to be a worker of some kind, to be a producer of values; and he is under obligation to produce commodities and values to the utmost. It is true that man has progressed somewhat beyond the deficit econo-

² Marot, "The Creative Impulse in Industry," p. 114.

iny. But he has not fully reached the surplus economy. Society has few resources, and for the present each person must be a producer.

In recent times a means has been devised for creating efficient workers and increasing the product. Every one who is acquainted with the facts knows that many workers "soldier" at their tasks and refuse to do their best. Various methods have been devised for stimulating the workers and developing initiative. By bonuses and profit-sharing, by fines and pace-making, employers have tried to evoke more energy and skill from the workers. These things have accomplished something; but the results have been disappointing and uncertain. During the past decades there has been a detailed study of labor operations; and there has been developed a system of scientific management.³ We cannot here describe this system in detail; suffice it to say it endeavors to eliminate lost motion in the worker, to reduce waste effort to the minimum, to stimulate the worker to do his best and enable him to produce the maximum amount.

 ³ See Taylor, "The Principles of Scientific Management"; Hobson, "Work and Wealth," chap. XIV; Marot, "The Creative Impulse in Industry"; King, "Industry and Humanity," chap. VIII.

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It must be confessed that its results are somewhat disappointing. First of all, it has the opposition of organized labor; men feel that it aims to mechanize them, to increase the product without yielding any commensurate increase in wages. Some employers do not understand this, so they attribute it to the perverseness of the workers who will not be aroused and managed. Others charge it up to labor agitators who are hostile to capitalists. But these explanations do not explain. The fact is, scientific management as it is applied ignores human nature. It tries to secure results from men without creating in them a desire to do. It violates a universal law in that it denies to vast numbers of individuals the opportunity to do creative work.⁴

To secure large results from men we must enlist their interest, encourage initiative, release latent spiritual forces, and develop a creative impulse. There is no use in exhorting men to feel a responsibility for industry where there is no chance of bearing the responsibility.

There is only one way out. The workers must become partners in the enterprise. They must realize that they are a part of the enterprise and understand its aims and share

⁴ Marot, "The Creative Impulse in Industry," chap. II.

in its results. We must develop the idea of industry as an adventure in creative enterprise.⁵ We must give the workers an incentive to do their best and be as efficient as possible; and this not for the hour nor for wage merely; but as a creative enterprise and a social service. Thus the training of the workers and their efficiency as participants depend every step of the way upon realization of democracy in industry.

2. As a preparation for democracy and a means to this end we have *labor unions and collective bargaining*. The churches have affirmed the right of workers and employers to organize; and they have approved of conciliation and arbitration in industrial disputes. They further state that a "first method of realizing democracy in industry is through collective bargaining." This principle is agreed to in the report of the Employers' Section of the Federal Commission on Industrial Relations. "The principle of collective bargaining being generally accepted, the urgent question is, what method shall embody it? It has already been largely worked out in agreements between organized employers and organized workers, sometimes covering an entire industry for a large section of the country. The results, on the

* Marot, *Ibid.*, p. 63.

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whole, have made for true social progress. To those employers and workers, however, who reject this method, the churches must point out that they are under moral obligation to discover some other form of collective bargaining that will make more for the good of their industry and of society at large. The safety and development of the workers, the best interests of employers, and the security and progress of the community all demand it.”⁶

3. This may be the first step in the democratic control of industry, but it is not the final stage. For collective bargaining, like all bargaining, is apt to be a struggle for advantage; or it may become a mutual alliance to plunder the rest of the community. Christianity moves up to higher ground. It requires the supremacy of the principle of cooperation in the industrial world. We must therefore seek to unite all the parties in an enterprise on a cooperative basis. This may mean a council of control made up of representatives of employers and employees, who shall pass upon all questions that affect the industry. It will mean a distribution of the proceeds of industry on the basis of service and contribution. It will mean that all

⁶ “Christian Cooperation and World Redemption,” Vol. 5, p. 66.

the parties shall be shareholders with a direct stake in the enterprise. It will mean that all who share in the proceeds of industry shall render some service with hand or brain.

This implies the adoption of a constitution or charter for industry, with a bill of rights, providing for joint and fair representation of all parties, defining the terms and conditions of labor, and containing standards to which all can refer and by which they may adjust all differences. This carries with it guaranties of participation by all parties in knowledge of the enterprise, community of control, and an equitable sharing in the proceeds. It provides also for speedy redress of grievances by adequate means of investigation, conciliation, and arbitration. It is impossible here, even if it were desirable, to give the details of such a program. But valuable suggestions are found in the plan of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company. This includes an employees' bill of rights defining principles and policies governing the parties in possible cases of controversy. It provides for joint representation on committees dealing with such things as conciliation, safety, sanitation and housing, recreation and education. Beyond all, it contains the beginning at least of an industrial parlia-

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ment guaranteeing full representation to all parties in the enterprise.⁷ Valuable suggestions are contained also in the Reports of the British Reconstruction Committee, known as the Whitley Committee, as given in three documents issued during the war. These reports provide that for each industry there shall be constituted joint industrial councils, composed of representatives of employers and employed organized on a three-fold basis. There are to be works committees of local industries; district councils representing trade-unions and employers' associations in the industry; and national councils which shall define and maintain standards throughout industry. In addition most significant suggestions are contained in the memorandum on "The Industrial Situation After the War," issued by the Garton Foundation. This much is clear: The movement toward democracy fairly commits us to the task of adopting a constitution or charter for industry and providing for the joint representation of all parties in the management and proceeds of industry. It is useless to talk of democracy and vain to expect industrial peace until both labor and capital are thus represented in the control of industry and a community of interests.

⁷ J. D. Rockefeller, Jr., "Colorado Industrial Plan," 1916.

4. But there is a stage beyond this which must ever be taken into account. We might have collective bargaining and cooperative industry, and yet be as far as ever from real industrial democracy. *Industry must take its place in the social order and come under the supervision and control of society.* The time has gone by when an industry can regard itself as a private business and conduct its affairs for its own advantage alone. The time has passed when society, the third party in every industry, can stand by and suffer while employers and workers fight out their differences. Neither employers alone nor employees alone, nor both together, can deny their social relations and obligations. *Society is an active partner in every enterprise and the public interest must always be paramount.*

Industry is not an interest by itself, but has social relations. Industry must therefore be conducted, not for the interests of employers and employees alone or together, but for the sake of the common weal. This applies to the whole conduct of the enterprise, in its processes and its products, its methods and its results. Otherwise we might have an industry that would be wholly unsocial and undemocratic. The particular industry within itself might be a co-

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operative group; within itself it might be democratic and peaceful. But in its relation to society it might be a disturbing and injurious element, an *imperium in imperio*, considering only its own interests and blind to its social relations. Every industry has social relations and social obligations. Hence its affairs must come under the supervision and control of society. Hence also in its processes and results it must be cooperative and democratic as far as the whole of society is concerned. Labor unionism, collective bargaining, trade agreements, labor copartnership, are good in themselves as means to an end. But they never can be the end itself. Labor unionism, if strong enough, might bring on an intolerable tyranny. Labor copartnership might become a close corporation and plunder the public.

The Christian and democratic principle applied to industry demands that industry be socialized and recognize both its social relations and obligations. "It insists that no group and no combination of groups engaged in the industrial process shall seek merely their rights or privileges. It demands that every group shall consider its duty to the common welfare, that it shall regard its part of the work as a ministry of

service, and shall ask how it may best co-operate with all the other groups to promote the general good. It can tolerate neither the despotism of capital nor the tyranny of labor. When they deadlock in struggle and become oblivious to the common good, its voice must demand that some method be found to express the desires of the whole people and to exert social control.”⁸ This implies the full socialization of industry; and this is discussed more fully in the next chapter.

For the present our duty is to interpret and apply the democratic principle in its relation to industry. The churches have declared that democracy is the social expression of Christianity. They have affirmed that we must realize the democratic principle in industry no less than in the state. “The church should therefore clearly teach the principle of the fullest possible cooperative control and ownership of industry and the natural resources upon which industry depends, in order that men may be spurred to develop the methods that shall express this principle.”⁹ More than that, the church must arouse and inspire men to go forth and reconstruct the industrial order on the basis

⁸ “Christian Cooperation and World Redemption,” Vol. 5, p. 67.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 67, 68.

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of brotherhood and cooperation, that thus "all who participate in industry shall become partners with each other and coworkers with God in the service of humanity. Then will industry become a religious experience, developing mutual service and sacrifice, the expression in economic terms of the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man."

In fine, the democratic principle must be accepted in industry at its full value. It should be unnecessary to say that autocracy in industry is no better than autocracy in the state. It should be unnecessary to say further that the democratic principle is as valid in one relation as in the other. Those who hold the democratic faith should therefore seek to interpret that principle in the industrial order and seek to realize it in its fulness. It is possible that the struggle for democracy in industry will pass through the same stages as democracy in the state. As there have been Magna Chartas and Bills of Rights in political life, so there must be Magna Chartas and Bills of Rights in the economic world. As there are constitutional guaranties in the political realm, so there must be constitutional guaranties in the industrial order. In a word, there must be some constitutional guaranties

which define and safeguard the rights of men in industry, which recognize that industrial management derives its just powers from the consent of all parties, and which provide that wealth which is of all and by all shall be by all and for all.

In the light of this we see that many of the measures highly approved of men may not really make for democracy. Welfare work for workers is good, but we must not call it democratic or accept it as a finality. Profit-sharing recognizes that there is something more than wages, but it may not be a step toward the goal. Here, as so often, the good may be the enemy of the best. We do not have democracy till we have all parties meeting as partners and having a direct voice in everything that concerns the enterprise. We do not have democracy in industry till the conduct of the enterprise both in its processes and its products rests upon the consent of the participants. There may be collective bargaining; there may be a committee on conference on minor matters. But we do not have democracy as long as the decision rests with one party and deals with the employees' lives. We do not have real democracy till distribution of the product is by common consent and industry in the total process is by all and for all.

The various plans proposed to lessen industrial strife and secure industrial justice, such as profit-sharing, compulsory arbitration, protocols, and trade agreements, are all good enough in their way. They may do something as emergency measures to reduce warfare. They may and they may not work out the results desired. But at best they are palliatives and makeshifts and can never bring industrial peace, for they stop short of fundamental conditions and deal only with surface symptoms. We have friction and warfare in the industrial world to-day because human relations are broken and disturbed. We can never have peace till we have gone down beneath all surface differences and have dealt with fundamental human relations. We must therefore bring about in the community such a spirit of brotherliness and sense of justice as will rule men in all of their relations. We must realize that men were men and brothers before they were employers and employees. And we must adjust the relations between them in terms of justice, love, and brotherhood and reconstruct the industrial order on a Christian basis.

Democracy is both a faith and a practice. It will be a reality as fast and as far as it finds people who see the good and work to-

ward it. "We are justified by faith," says the apostle; and our industrial life is justified in so far as it accepts the true principle and works it out in institutions. It must therefore be the common aim of all to affirm the true faith and teach men that it will work. They must seek to train and prepare men for effective participation in industry as directors and workers. They must seek to give all partners full knowledge and direct participation in the industry; they must recognize the right of every person to a voice in everything that concerns his life. They must seek to bring the ownership and control of tools and product in the same hands; they must guarantee to all parties full representation in management, conditions, wages, distribution. As democracy in government means government of the people, by the people, and for the people; so democracy in industry means industry of the people, by the people, and for the people. And it will never have its perfect work till in industry as in state we have cooperation of all for the sake of all.

The following principles may be affirmed:

That is a good policy which sees the democratic goal for industry and carries us toward it.

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That is a good policy for the time and place which brings employers and employees together as partners and equals.

That is a good policy which makes for the common ownership and control of the tools of industry.

That is a good policy which prepares men for intelligent and direct participation as equals in the affairs of industry.

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IV

**THE SOCIALIZATION OF THE
NATION**

He that withholdeth corn, the people shall curse him :
But blessing shall be upon the head of him that
selleth it. —*Proverbs 11 : 26.*

Open ye the gates, that the righteous nation which
keepeth truth shall enter in.—*Isaiah 26 : 2.*

They helped every one his neighbor ; and every one
said to his brother, Be of good courage.

So the carpenter encouraged the goldsmith, and
he that smootheth with the hammer him that smote
the anvil, saying, It is ready for the soldering : and
he fastened it with nails, that it should not be
moved.—*Isaiah 41 : 6, 7.*

The resources of the earth, being the heritage of
the people, should not be monopolized by the few
to the disadvantage of the many.—*The Social Ser-
vice Commission of the Northern Baptist Convention.*

If we are to escape from the decay of civilization
itself . . . we must ensure that what is presently to
be built up is a new social order, based not on fight-
ing but on fraternity—not on the competitive strug-
gle for the means of bare life, but on a deliberately
planned cooperation in production and distribution
for the benefit of all who participate by hand or by
brain—not on the utmost possible inequality of
riches, but on a systematic approach toward a healthy
equality of material circumstances for every person
born into the world.—*Draft Report on the General
Policy of Reconstruction of the British Labor Party.*

God said, I am tired of kings,
I suffer them no more ;
Up to my ear each morning brings
The outrage of the poor.

—*Emerson.*

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The nation to-day faces a great new task. In the judgment which has befallen the world secret things are brought to light and hidden defects in society are revealed; the inadequacy of the policies and programs of the nations is shown. In all this the need of a new national policy is suggested. And in the struggle of the nations to-day we find the hope of a new social order. The nation will never be the same as it was before. A return to the *status quo ante* is impossible. Changes are coming, and we must prepare for them. What shall these changes be? Shall reaction regain its hold and control the power of industry and the life of the nation? If so, there is trouble ahead, with friction, strife, and rebellion. Shall we allow things to drift and trust that they will adjust themselves? We need to remember that moral progress is not automatic; things grow better just as fast and as far as men see the better and strive for it. To allow things to drift is to invite disaster. There

is only one course open, therefore. We must understand the changes that are right and necessary; we must have an intelligent conception of the laws of social and national life; and we must unite the people in behalf of social justice and democratic progress. Only a few illustrations of the inadequacy of the old policies can be given; and only a bare outline of the new policy can be set forth.

I. The Failure of the Old Individualism. It appears, for one thing, that we have been most neglectful and wasteful of our human resources. We have been intent on the project of developing the natural resources of the nation, and we have done this at an unparalleled rate. But in all this we have been neglectful of higher values and have been wasteful of the most valuable asset, the lives given to us. We have built our cities and developed our industries with little regard for the health, the happiness, the welfare of the people.

It appears that the industrial processes have been regardless of the welfare of the people and the larger life of the nation. Each industry has been controlled by its own managers, usually a few men, whose immediate object was profits. Coal has been mined with little concern for the welfare

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of the people to-day or the resources of the nation to-morrow. The supplies of oil have been exploited by individuals for the day's profits without regard for the coming generation. Individuals and corporations have gained control of the nation's resources, and have developed these to their own enrichment without concern for the rights of the people.¹ Men have manipulated the railroads of the country as mere gambling devices, and have practised stock-jobbing that is disguised highway robbery. Industries have been run for industry's sake with little regard for the life and welfare of the workers. This has worn out men and women before their time and then thrown them aside as so much junk. It has worked the spirit and hope out of men and has left life devoid of eternal values.

It appears further that special privilege and industrial autocracy have exploited the people and have had a malign influence upon the nation. The control of industry has fallen into a few hands, and these are able to determine the destiny of millions of men. They can say how much coal shall be mined, how much wage the miner shall receive for his toil, and how much the family shall pay for fuel. They can decide what shall be the

¹ Van Hise, "The Conservation of the Natural Resources."

price of crude oil, and how much the people shall pay for electric-power. The same is true with reference to transportation and trade. A few men control railroads and express companies and are able to make and unmake communities and States. By degrees certain great combinations have gained control of grain-elevators and slaughterhouses, and are able to force down the price paid the producer and force up the price paid by the consumer. By a combination of power on the part of railroads and storage-houses, a few people can levy a heavy toll on the people's food. Between the producers and consumers stand certain interests and combinations that fix prices and control the people's necessities. As every one knows, the price of the staple commodities of life has no relation whatever to the cost of producing them and placing them upon the market. Food pirates and selfish profiteers are able to force down prices to producers and almost drive them out of business; they are able to force up prices to consumers to virtually famine rates. And they have used this power to enrich themselves out of the necessities of the people.

This evil became especially patent in the early stages of the world war. During the past years there has been a marked increase

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in the cost of living. When the war began what did we find? Practically every group in the land used the war as a plea for raising the price of everything they could control. The farmer raised the price of grain and insisted on having his share in the general increase. The miller and baker increased their profits to an impossible degree. The manufacturers of steel and the makers of paper charged all the traffic would bear. Coal operators used the occasion to force up the prices of coal. Men went on strike and crippled trade and hampered the government. It appeared also that all groups and classes of men were ready to take advantage of the nation's need and to raise prices as they pleased. In some cases there was a scarcity of labor and goods, due to the war and other causes. But in most cases monopolists simply took advantage of the people and charged whatever they might exact. A few men became millionaires almost overnight. Some corporations were able to show profits of three hundred per cent. The cost of living rose to an almost prohibitive figure, and much distress fell upon millions of families. Working men became discontented and demanded a share in these profits. Social unrest increased among the people, and murmurings of revolt were heard every-

where. There were some notable and noble exceptions all along the line; but these exceptions served rather to show the general attitude. And so we have found individuals and corporations growing enormously rich out of the greatest calamity of the race; they have allowed self-interest to determine their attitude and conduct. Thus the individualistic doctrine, in its negative aspect at least, leads to the reign of capitalism in industry and of self-interest in trade.

In fine, the world war became a veritable Day of Judgment, testing the works of men and nations and revealing the sins of the one and the defects of the other. It became evident that the old individualism had run its course and had produced its natural fruits. Each person was looking out for himself, and few were living for the common good. Each group and class was intent upon its own advantage and indifferent to the general welfare. It became evident that Americans on the whole have been living in pioneer conditions, with each section looking out for itself but with little sense of the whole. Business was conducted in a slipshod and wasteful way. There was little coordination of forces and unity of effort. The churches were divided into two hundred and fifty denominations and were inchoate and in-

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effective. Clearly, we were revealed to be an unorganized people, with abundant energy and lofty patriotism, but without co-ordination of forces or discipline of will.

II. The Socializing of the Nation. The war which revealed some of the defects in the national life suggested the potent remedy. In the stress and strain of the war it became necessary for the nation to change its policy and take control of the nation's resources. Government was compelled to take over the railroads and steel-mills, to regulate trade and fix prices, to limit profits and determine income. It was compelled to assign men their tasks and establish a stern discipline. In all countries, and in our own no less, the war has profoundly modified the old economic system and has introduced far-reaching innovations in national policies. Methods of state control and national discipline which would once have been regarded as intolerable infringements of the rights of employers and workmen, have been accepted without protest by all parties. Ten years ago no one could have imagined that such changes would be possible in our generation. In a few years of crowded and eventful life we have gathered the results of a century of economic evolution. Some of these changes are no doubt temporary and

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provisional. They were dictated by necessity and were accepted on the understanding that they were temporary. Nevertheless, many of these changes have proved so beneficent and necessary that they must not be allowed to pass. Many of them are permanent and must now become a part of the settled policy of the nation. The old prewar order has passed away forever, and we have come into a new world.²

In all this the nation has demonstrated the value of social control and the necessity of national discipline. In the past many of our people have been individualists and have feared social control. They have opposed public ownership and management of resources, production, distribution, and transportation on the ground that private management was more efficient and progressive. But the war has changed all this and has revealed the weakness, the inadequacy, the ineffectiveness, the costliness of the old individualistic organization of business. Why were the governments of Great Britain and the United States obliged to take over the means of transportation and communication and to assume full control over industry and trade? The simple fact is the governments were compelled to do this in order to

² Henderson, "The Aims of Labor," chap. I.

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get things done. The old individualistic managements were proved to be disorganized and inefficient. "Their organizations were found to be full of waste, friction, official and personal extravagance. Their operations were not properly correlated, and social needs were remorselessly subordinated to dividends. . . To an extent which probably will not be disclosed until the war is won, but which will certainly be remorselessly disclosed when the strife ends and the world turns to the problems of reconstruction, individual enterprise in big industry was as wasteful and incompetent as any bawling socialist ever proclaimed and as selfishly devoted to profiteering."³

It is too early in the day for any one to indicate all of the changes that are coming and to frame the policies that must be adopted. But the nation has gained a sense of direction in national policy, and it has given an illustration of the meaning and value of socialization. Every consideration of right and expediency which justified this action in wartime amply justifies it for all times. The welfare of society is the supreme concern in war and in peace. Private interest must yield when public good is at stake. Every person must hold his property

³ "The Independent," August 31, 1918.

and life as a social trust and must accept his social obligations. Society must adopt such a policy as shall secure the largest good of the whole people. In behalf of the common welfare society may control natural resources, regulate trade, fix prices, require services, limit income, determine building operations, discourage pleasure automobilizing, regulate food supplies. In all this we have affirmed the principles of eminent domain and social stewardship and have vindicated the right of social control and national discipline. It is true that we have not worked out these principles in all of their bearings, and we do not know what these rights imply. This is matter for the future to accept and work out in detail. It is enough for the present to affirm these principles and to know that in their application lies the way to progress and security.

He is a fool and blind who supposes that the nation will relapse into the old order and will resume life where it was left when the war began. The world to-day is in the swing of one of the mightiest movements of all time. Nothing less than a world revolution is in progress, destined to change the life of the nations and the structure of society. This is a war of enfranchisement, and many errors, political, social, economic,

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personal, will be slain. Never again, it is to be hoped, can oppression and monopoly and injustice pass unchallenged. The spirit of selfishness and greed which leads men to corner food supplies, to grow rich out of the needs of others, to seek only their own interest and neglect the common welfare, must be slain forever. The sacredness of life, the right of the child to be well born and well nurtured, the right of every life to fair opportunity in society and an equity in the national heritage, must be affirmed and secured. The door into a fuller life for all must be kept open, a living wage for every worker must be secured, the right to a voice in everything that concerns his life must be guaranteed to each. A just distribution of the products of industry must become a part of the nation's program. Industry must be conducted not for profits but for life, and the people must come into their own and enjoy that which belongs to them. The resources of the earth are the heritage of the people and must not be exploited by the few to the disadvantage of the many. The resources of the earth must be held in trust for the people, and every child must receive the equivalent of his equity in the form of education and opportunity. We entered the war to oppose autocracy, to save government for

the people, and to make the world safe for democracy. We do not believe in kings and autocrats; we know that the people are not safe in their hands. We will abolish political kings, but we must not allow money kings. We repudiate the medieval baron, but we must not accept the coal baron. We say that government is not safe in the hands of hereditary autocrats, but we must say that the people's welfare is not safe in the hands of industrial hereditary autocrats.

A return to old conditions is impossible. It is impossible from the point of view of the changes that have come; it is impossible from the point of view of the new demands upon society. There is no use, therefore, in talking about a restoration of the status quo ante. Any discussion of such a return is disingenuous; it can only lead to confusion and trouble. The way out is the way forward. What we must have is a new policy which shall guide men in a new social advance.

III. The New National Policy. What the nation needs at this time is a well-thought-out, comprehensive plan of social reconstruction which will guarantee freedom, equality, and justice to all. It must ensure a national order governed on democratic principles which shall unify the forces of the nation,

develop a national discipline, and express the cooperation of all for the sake of all. In this program four things are vital:

1. There must be a change in the spirit and policy of the nation. The old individualism taught that the individual is supreme and his interests are his final law. It taught that the rule of the game is each for himself and the devil take the hindmost. Thus it sanctified the game of grab and the rule of self-interest. Under the sway of this doctrine we have thought of life as a magnified grab-game, in which each was expected to take everything in sight and shut out his neighbor. Men have had a provincial spirit in thought, in morality, in politics. They have thought of their street, their town, their business, their party, and have viewed every question in this light. They have insisted that their representatives in city council, in legislatures, and in Congress shall secure appropriations for their district without reference to the general welfare. They have upheld a party and its policies for the sake of their own business advantage. They have taken for granted that various selfish policies would add themselves up into the national good. They have assumed that political right consisted in a balance of expediencies.

The nation must have a new mind and heart and conscience. There must be developed a national spirit of sacrifice and service. We must gain the sense of the whole, and learn to take thought for the common life, and to value every policy and program by this standard. The land is full of people who would die for the nation, who yet swear away their taxes and dodge jury service. We need the national conviction that one is to seek, not his own advantage, but the profit of the many. We must realize that the good man is a good citizen and lives for the common weal. To-day one may win or lose his crown of sainthood by the way he practises his citizenship. Men must learn to hunger and thirst after righteousness in just city franchises. They must seek the kingdom of God and its justice in a fair system of taxation. They must be fellow helpers unto the truth by insisting that public service corporations shall give good service and issue no watered stock. They may play the Good Samaritan by securing an honest and efficient police department. They may love their neighbors by guaranteeing pure air and community playgrounds for children. They may bear their cross after the Master by fighting graft in the city and speculation in public franchises, and by

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upholding righteous but unpopular causes. They may prove the quality of their citizenship in the kingdom of God by the practice of good citizenship in their community. All this demands the imagination to look beyond self and see the common good; and the willingness to subordinate self-interest and co-operate for the common life. It demands the creation of a social conscience that shall honor the moral ideal and be quick to search men through and through with the fire of God. It demands the development of a comprehensive national discipline, the ability to do team-work, the willingness to find one's good in the common welfare. Without this mind and spirit and habit democracy will be a sham and the nation will be full of confusion. With the growth of this mind and spirit and habit national policies will change and political institutions will produce better fruit.

The course of the nation during the war has answered one libel on human nature and has given some hope for the future. It has been assumed that men are selfish, and that men of large ability will not put forth their best efforts unless they are motived by the hope of money rewards; society must not interfere therefore with human nature, but must leave the door open for individual

initiative. But to organize the nation and ensure victory hundreds of the nation's ablest men surrendered large salaries and devoted their talents without reserve and without pay. The secret is here: It was service for the nation. This is the secret for the future course of society. Let men see that their efforts in business and industry are a social service, and all right-minded men will be willing to do their best. The supreme task before society is therefore to teach the social meaning and obligation of industry; to show that it is called to render a social service as truly as the church or the school. Society must expect men of ability to enter business and industry, not for the sake of money reward, but to give social service. Society must teach men that they are to create wealth by doing work and rendering service, and not by devising some ways, often devious and unjust, to win money away from others. Given this Christian and social conception of industry, and all other things will follow in due time:

2. There must be a supervision and control by society of the life and resources of the nation. We cannot longer permit a few men to gain control of the means of production and distribution and to tax the people in the form of a monopoly price. We

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cannot allow monopolists and profiteers to exploit the people's necessities and make the child's loaf small and the family's fuel dear. Society must end the power of privilege and bring about the reign of justice. Society must abolish special privileges of whatever kind, social, political, or economic. It must break the strangle-hold of capitalism upon labor, industry, and life. The people must regain the lost right to the earth and its resources. Wo to the autocrats and junkers who oppose the coming of social justice and would keep the people down. Several items in this program may be mentioned:

(1) The natural resources of the nation must be socialized. The earth and its resources God has given to men to be their common home and heritage. Such resources as coal and iron, oil and water, must be held in trust for all, and each must receive his equity. This means that these resources must be taken over by the state as national property, or they must be so supervised and controlled as to prevent any exploitation of the people and be conducted wholly as public services.

(2) The nationalization and control of all water-power. There should be a careful survey of the streams and lakes of the country, with a knowledge of the possible utili-

zation of water-power. There should be erected sufficient super-power-stations to generate and transmit electricity at cheap rates for power and light in homes, industries, and communities. Also there should be the social control of water for irrigation and its full use for the largest possible benefit.

(3) The socialization of all such public utilities as railroads, telegraph and telephone lines, city light, water, and transportation. This may be effected either through social ownership and operation, or by full social supervision and control. In no case should such utilities be used for private speculation and against public welfare.

(4) A system of rational taxation which shall equalize taxes, prevent speculative holding of land, lift the burden from the family's necessities, and secure a more equitable distribution of property.

It is in the direction of these principles that thought and effort must move in the time to come.

3. The processes of industry must come under the direct supervision and coordination of society. The time was when the individual who wanted to stand on his feet and secure justice had to depend upon his own strong arm. In the progress of man

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and the development of society we have long since passed this stage. In what we call the state we recognize the principle of social control; and we substitute the general, definite, impartial will for the uncertain, arbitrary, personal will. In a civilized state each person consents to have his interests interpreted and measured by the common will and general welfare. In case of a conflict of wills and interests all parties agree to settle the questions at issue by an appeal to the common welfare and will.

The time has come when men in their economic relations must agree to come under the control of society, and to have their interests interpreted and measured by the common will and welfare. As the individual in his personal and political matters is willing to have his interests safeguarded and guaranteed by the state; so men in their social and industrial processes must be willing to have their interests safeguarded and guaranteed by the same agency. In a modern, civilized society it would be an impeachment of the government if every person who wanted to escape attack and secure his rights, should think it necessary to go armed upon the street. In a modern, intelligent society it is no less an impeachment of the state if every group of workers or employers who would

protect themselves must form a fighting group and battle for its rights. The latter no less than the former would show plainly that society is not fully rational or fully efficient. If the state did its duty by all of its members and were fully conscious of its mission, such things would be impossible.

In a word, the state must widen its scope and must fulfil its social mission. The state, which in the fine phrase of Prof. Franz Oppenheimer, is "the impartial guardian of the common interests," must represent all and must socialize every group. It is the one agency through which all of the people can cooperate in their search after social justice and social progress. It is the one agency comprehensive enough to consider the interests of all and to guarantee justice to each. More and more the state must consider the welfare of each and must safeguard the rights of all. It must determine the level of industrial action. It must supervise and control the processes and proceeds of industry. It must socialize all and promote the cooperation of all for the sake of all. The one supreme end, the great whole which implies and includes the parts, is the common welfare. Whatever promotes this end is good. Whatever interferes with it is evil. Industry and trade, like everything

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else, are for the sake of man and society. Thus far, however, we have regarded men for the sake of industry, and industry for the sake of profits. All this must be changed, both in policy and methods. In fine, there must be a socialization of the economic processes in the interest of the total life of the nation.

We must recognize the fact that the industrial process is a part of the social life, and must always be considered in its relation to the whole. It is not an end in itself, but exists for the sake of society. It is necessary, therefore, that the process in its units be related to the process as a whole. It must be subordinate to and included in all communities and interests within the common purpose of the nation.⁴ The socializing of industry means, therefore, the harmonizing of industry with the total welfare of society. It means that the process of industry in its spirit, methods, and results shall be conducted in such a way as to promote the total life of the nation. This applies to the whole process of making wealth, controlling and distributing it. Whenever the process affects society in any way—and every industry does—it must be supervised and controlled. It has become evident that the industrial

⁴ Small, "General Sociology," p. 342.

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process must be related to all the other factors and processes and must serve the whole welfare of society and make its full contribution to social values. As a person must be socialized, that is, learn to take his place in society, conform to its regulations, and serve its welfare, so industry and trade must be socialized, find their place in the social order, and have their methods and results conform to social regulations.

4. *We must create a more just and efficient social order.* The present order has failed at many points. It has failed to guarantee the right to life of all human beings. It has failed to ensure equality of opportunity to all and has compelled many to work against heavy handicaps. It is unjust in that it allows a few to exploit the many and deprives many of a real chance in life. It is wasteful on the side of production and unjust on the side of distribution. It has inverted the true order and has turned values topsy-turvy. It makes men the means of producing things, whereas things are only tolerable in so far as they produce men. It compels the great majority of people to toil beyond their strength without true opportunity in life and joy in work; and it enables a few to live in luxury without rendering any service or producing anything

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of social value. It may be said that it has produced things and created wealth and made a few people rich. But it has done this at the cost of wasted lives and social unrest. This capitalistic system is a monster eating up the lives of the people.

And it is unbrotherly on the side of distribution; it fills society with unrest and drives men into revolt. "The very idea of justice, or any proportionality between effort and reward in our present system, is so chimerical," said John Stuart Mill, "as to be relegated to the region of romance." If that is true, and it is quite as true as when first said, there is a plain duty before the men of good will. They are to create a social order that reduces the pressure upon men to be selfish and unjust and sets a premium upon justice and brotherhood; they are to secure a more equitable distribution of the advantages of life and create a social order which makes for social unity and justice and fellowship. They are to create a social and economic order which shall secure justice for all and give to each his equitable share in the common gifts of God.

In fine, we must create a more efficient and disciplined social order. Our present individualistic and competitive system is not efficient. As Steinmetz has shown, our country

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is individualistic. In the industrial struggle that is coming, our industrial organization—with everybody fighting against everybody else, industrially, politically, and socially—is hopeless; and America will either cease to be one of the world's leading industrial nations, or we must organize a system based on co-operation and not on competition. But—and here is the heart of the problem—this cooperation must be a democratic cooperation; this discipline must be self-imposed and not be autocratic, as in Germany. No doubt any nation that is willing to accept the discipline and pay the price, can become efficient and strong. But a democratic people must achieve this efficiency and discipline, and all the time must remain democratic.

Two possible courses are open to us: Either there must be such full social control over the forces and processes of industry as shall safeguard the resources of the nation and the welfare of the people; or there must be the full assertion of the right of eminent domain, the taking over by the people of the resources of the earth with full ownership and operation by society of all the means of production and distribution. Which course will the people take? Some men will prefer one and other men will choose the alternate. But one way or the other society will

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take, and one way it must take. Those who fear the latter, which is full socialism, should lead society to take the first course. Those who oppose this full social supervision and control over industry, are driving the people directly into socialism.

It will be many long years before the full results of the world war are seen. It will be a long time also before the nation can develop the plans for overcoming the evil results and bending all its energies to the work of human advance. But it is certain that for a long time Western civilization will be compelled to carry heavy war-debts. It will be necessary to enlist all workers and conserve all forces for social redemption. To carry on the war the nations were obliged to conscript wealth, to tax income, to draft every able-bodied person, and to compel every person to do some serviceable work. For decades and generations the nations must live on a wartime basis. To meet the interest on war-debts and gradually to reduce the amount, to do the work of society and provide funds and workers for progress, the nations will be compelled to make permanent some of these necessary war measures. Society must provide that each person carry his share of the burden; that there be no idlers living off society, whether as tramps or para-

sites, and yet doing no work; that every person do some socially useful work; that income received shall bear a direct relation to work done and service rendered. More than that, society must, in order to prevent injustice on one side and find funds for progress on the other, provide that the earth's resources shall be held in trust for all, and that no man or group shall make profit out of special privileges. The very stress of the situation will compel society to socialize all life and to control industry for the sake of all. Long ago we ought to have learned this needful lesson of sacrifice and cooperation and have been willing to serve and seek the common welfare. Alas, that humanity should be compelled to learn this necessary lesson at such fearful cost as the world war. But if the nations learn the lesson at this high price, even the war will not have been in vain. But if the nations refuse to learn the lesson and reject the instruction of heaven, one would almost despair of the world.

The time is critical and demands wise and united action. Progress has never moved in a straight line but men have had to make their way by trial and error. Always, everywhere, progress is the resultant of two sets of forces, those of conservatism and those of radicalism. If one or the other

of these becomes so dominant as to break the balance, we may have reaction or chaos. This is the danger that faces the nations to-day. In the world revolution which has begun, the people have become conscious of their power and are determined to have a larger share in the things that affect their lives. Autocracy and privilege whether in state or in industry, are challenged and must pass. But let no one suppose that it will be an easy victory. In this time, as so often before, the people when released from their accustomed restraints are in danger of going to extremes, of trying to bring in the millennium by a rising vote or show of hands. In their reaction against the men and institutions that have limited them or wronged them, they are in danger of lawlessness, of shaking off restraint, and bringing on a reign of anarchy.

What has been the result so often before? What is the grave danger at this time? The forces of reaction and conservatism have never surrendered one privilege willingly. "Men are willing to do anything for the people," said Tolstoi, "except to get off their backs." The men of privilege call to their aid the forces of religion and reaction, and together these make a stand against disorder and radicalism. The consequence is—and this alas is a sad page of history—either

the powers of reaction and privilege carry the day and suppress necessary progress—in which case we simply plant the seeds of bitter struggle and serious oppression; or the people break bounds and fall into revolution and anarchy, and in this case the cause of reform is delayed and defeated. These are the alternatives that face the nations at this time. Which road will the nations take? Some deep and radical changes are necessary; let us admit this and bring them to pass. In large part the choice of these alternatives is with the men of influence and leadership in Church and State. If they have the faith and courage to accept the challenge of the hour and go forward, humanity may take a long step toward the goal. If they misread the signs of the times, if they allow themselves to be dominated by the forces of reaction, if they lack courage to do the right and necessary thing, though it may mean great change and bring some confusion, they will simply provoke men to extreme radicalism and perhaps bloody revolution. "Reform delayed," said Burke, "is revolution begun." Men are driven into revolution and anarchy less by their own reckless leaders than by the blind and selfish opposition of reaction and privilege. Czar Nicholas and Pobiedonostseff are the real authors of Bol-

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shevikism in Russia. The priesthood who flattered the nobles, Louis XIV, and Louis XV, "these," said Channing, "really caused the Reign of Terror."

Some reforms are inevitable and necessary. We cannot go back of the old order. The way out is the way forward. Let us see the right thing and do it together; so shall we bring in a great new time with least confusion.

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V

THE RECONSTRUCTION OF
INTERNATIONAL LIFE

And he shall judge between many peoples, and shall reprove strong nations afar off; and they shall beat their swords into plowshares and their spears into pruninghooks: nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more.—*Micah 4 : 3.*

Being first by interpretation King of Righteousness, and then also King of Salem, which is King of Peace.—*Hebrews 7 : 2.*

The real test and proof of racial superiority lies not in the realm of military power but in that of moral and spiritual life.

The truly great race, as the truly great man, seeks to give justice rather than to get rights. This policy advocates not peace at any price but righteousness at any cost.—*The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.*

What we seek is the reign of law, based upon the consent of the governed and sustained by the organized opinion of mankind.—*President Woodrow Wilson.*

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The world war is a challenge to our civilization and a call to world reconstruction. The fact that such a calamity could come in this twentieth century shows that there are some serious defects in the world order. Something is wrong with a civilization that contains within itself such woful possibilities as this war. This compels a rigorous scrutiny of the underlying principles of our civilization; it summons us to find the true foundations and to build upon them.

There is no mystery about the war. It has not come as a bolt out of the blue. Its coming is a surprise to no one. In fact, it has been foreseen and foretold for decades. The only surprise is that it should be so long delayed. The war is the direct outgrowth of false principles and wrong international policies. Long ago we were warned: "Be not deceived; God is not mocked; for whatsoever a man soweth that shall he also reap." Of old we have heard the monition, "The nations shall be turned into hell that forget

God." For generations the nations have sown the wind; it is not strange that they should reap the whirlwind.

The world war is a revelation of the false principles and policies of the nations. In the hell that has opened in Europe we see the nature of men's sin and learn how far they had wandered from God. The nations of Europe have professed faith in Jesus Christ and have honored his name. Yet the foreign policies of the so-called Christian nations have been practically untouched by the Christian spirit. Those policies might have belonged indifferently to Mohammedan, Buddhist, or pagan peoples. The nations have been looking after the things of self and have not sought the welfare of others. Each has been trying to secure the largest share of the earth, to control trade routes, and to checkmate its rivals. The nations have formed alliances, and by a balance of powers poised upon the point of a bayonet have tried to keep the peace of the world. These things all the great European nations have done in a greater or less degree. These evil principles one nation has accepted in full and has carried out to their logical conclusion; and the result is the economic imperialism and aggressive militarism of Pan-Germany. A few prophetic

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souls have seen the evil of these policies and have warned the nations of the coming judgment. But they have been as voices crying in the wilderness whose warning has gone unheeded. But now in the horrors of the war and the brutality of Pan-Germanism we read the evil of these policies and see whither they lead. Never again can the nations be deceived and regard such policies as harmless. They are simply diabolical and murder the life of nations and bring havoc upon the world.

The war has done more than this; it has brought out into the light the deeper issues of the world struggle. Through all the dark night of the past men have yearned to be free and have struggled toward the light. In our time humanity has tried to take a step forward toward justice and truth. The principles of brotherhood and democracy were beginning to find a larger application across international boundaries. But alas, the past seeks to hold back the future; darkness tries to put out the light. On the surface the war seems to be a struggle between two groups of nations, with different ideals and policies, for supremacy in the world. In outward form the war is a struggle between militarism and humanity, between autocracy and democracy, between world

imperialism and national freedom. These issues are all involved directly, and upon the outcome of the war depends the fate of these ideals.

But these are the outward and visible signs of an inner and essential difference. The fundamental issues are far deeper than any of these and more fateful than all combined. Is humanity one or many? Is the race a number of isolated and discordant peoples; or is it a family in which all nations are related by essential bonds? Is each nation a law unto itself with no such thing as international right, or is humanity a fact with the same moral obligations upon nations as upon men to be righteous and Christian? Is humanity a brotherhood, and is it true that God has made of one blood all nations of men, and has fixed their appointed periods and the definite boundaries of their dwellings? (Acts 17:26, 27.) Shall we have a federation of the nations with an agreement in law of fair dealing; or shall the nations as of old seek their own good and hold all they can seize from the weaker? Are the principles of morality, of justice, of stewardship and self-sacrifice, which are obligatory upon persons, equally obligatory upon nations? At bottom these are the deeper issues in the struggle, and this makes

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it so momentous. The world is trying to take an upward step; and the war reveals the forces which would hold mankind back in the night.

The supreme task of man here below is the progress of mankind in justice, virtue, brotherhood, and peace. War is a sign that something is wrong in the principles and policies of the nations. This world war has revealed the defects in our civilization and has shown the forces that would retard progress. The war is hence a summons to us to find the wrong principles of civilization, to renounce and repudiate these, to state and affirm the true principles of international life, and to organize a society of nations. It is a summons to affirm those principles and policies which we have found to be true and just for persons and societies, and to make these true for states and nations, and then to organize these principles into institutions and practices of world life.

~~The true progress of mankind is the only way to end war. War has causes, and to prevent war we must change the system which makes it inevitable.~~ As long as men and nations sow false principles and follow evil policies, so long they will reap war and misery. By concessions and compromises they may avoid a break for a time and patch

up a truce; but when the wind is sown the whirlwind is reaped. In the words of the prophet, "The bed is shorter than that a man can stretch himself upon it, and the covering is narrower than that he can wrap himself in it." The only way to cure and prevent war is to remove the causes which make war. In other words, keeping in mind the fundamental issues of the war, the way out for societies is the way out for the world. We must make those principles and policies true for the nations which we have accepted as true for persons and societies.

That war may be prevented there must be some thoroughgoing changes in the ideals of men and a reconstruction of the international life of mankind. Four things are implied in this, which may be briefly noted:

I. The Creation of an International Mind. The first thing is a true and Christian ideal of humanity. The real causes of war lie far back in the thoughts and ideals of men. They have false ideals of national greatness and success; they have wrong thoughts about trade and government. The causes of peace must be found in right thoughts in the minds of men and high ideals for their practice. We can build up a just and brotherly world without when we have built up a just and brotherly world within.

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There is suspicion and warfare among the nations for the reason that nations have a wrong attitude toward one another. We shall have a just and lasting peace when we have a change in the thoughts of men and when nations begin the practice of Christian principles.

This demands a radical change in the ideas and ideals of men and nations. Men must renounce the false ideals that have so long guided their policies. Thus it has been assumed that each nation is supreme and is free to consider its own interests without regard for others. It has been taught that there is nothing higher than the state, and that the state or nation is therefore not subject to moral law. It has been assumed that anything is good which serves the interests of the one nation, and everything is bad which brings no advantage to oneself. So men have taken for granted that expanding nations have the right to steal land, to over-reach whole peoples, to outrage and kill by wholesale. Traders and financiers have felt free to seek private profit, to exploit weaker peoples and make them hunting-grounds for gain, and to dispossess the natives. So they have obtained concessions in various lands often by doubtful methods, and have held valuable privileges against the people them-

selves. They have carefully manufactured false news, have deceived the people at home, and have declared that the flag was insulted. Chancellors and diplomats, often with an interest in concessions and profits, have played with weaker peoples as with mere pawns in a game of chess. Under the influence of traders and their false doctrines nations have created tariff barriers to help themselves and checkmate others. They have sought to control the trade routes of the world and thereby hold a selfish advantage. They have promoted the delusion that trade requires a great navy to control the seas and enable the nation to maintain its supremacy. They have cherished a pride of power and an ambition for dominion. So they have raised false issues and have deceived the people. They have encouraged the people of one nation to suspect and hate the people of another nation. They have then led them forth to fight and die, apparently for national honor, but really for sordid profits. Beneath the political antagonisms of the nations are economic rivalries; these both cause and explain in large part the national rivalries and international intrigues. Modern navies and armies are not created merely to take human life and advance the glory of rulers; but they are rather

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armed guardians of economic advantage and military protectors of world traders. As a result of these causes men have grown mad, and nations have fought and have filled the world with misery.¹ As long as such false ideas and doctrines are accepted, so long there will be suspicion, jealousy, hatred, and war between nations and groups of nations.

Then in a more positive way we must accept and affirm the true principles of international life. Perhaps we can do no better than quote some of the affirmations presented by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.

We accept and affirm:

That above all nations is humanity;
That nations are neighbors, members of one great human family;

That no nation is complete in itself, nor can it attain its own highest life except through wholesome relations with the rest of mankind;

That all sovereignty is limited and relative, subject to the Infinite Will and to the ethical restrictions and limitations of all humanity;

That cooperation and mutual consideration should take the place of destructive competition and ruinous rivalries of peoples and nations;

That it is as wrong for nations as for individuals to steal and lie and kill;

¹ Hill, "The Rebuilding of Europe," chap. III.

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That forbearance and forgiveness, service and sacrifice, are binding upon nations as well as upon individuals;

That great and wealthy nations are stewards and trustees for the welfare of small, weak, and undeveloped peoples;

That true national greatness comes from service to the world, not from dominion over it;

That all races and nations, great and small alike, possess the right to share in the world's resources and in opportunity for self-directing and expanding life, in harmonious cooperation with the rest of mankind;

That justice and right dealing in international affairs are impossible apart from the development throughout our land of that spirit of Christian good will and brotherhood which must express itself in the establishment of social justice and right dealing in our own industrial and economic problems.

If there is to be a new world it must come first of all through a new spirit in the nations. There must be created an international mind and conscience; men must learn to think of humanity as one family and to have a world patriotism; they must keep their minds free from jealousy and selfishness, and must base their policy and practice upon true and Christian principles; they must be as quick to resent injustice by a nation as by an individual. Humanity must become an ideal in order that it may become

an actuality. World patriotism must be a faith, a chivalry, before it can be an organization. International peace must become an aspiration, a religion, before it will become a reality.

II. The Federation of Nations. There must be some international organization which shall make the new ideas effective and secure world justice. As the culmination of causes long at work and as the deeper meaning of the world war the issue is now drawn between two opposed and exclusive ideals. It is an issue between state absolutism and world humanity. It is a struggle to determine whether each state shall claim absolute authority or shall accept the law of international right. It is a struggle to decide whether each state is a law unto itself and is to make its own good supreme, or whether nations are a part of humanity and are to live together in terms of justice.

The world has solved this question so far as the individual and society are concerned. We have learned that man lives in society and for society; he must therefore take his place in the social order, accept the law of social life, learn to live for the common good, and be willing to have his interests measured by the common welfare. We have solved this question also as

far as the United States is concerned. We have here a confederation of States co-operating toward one common end, accepting their place in the nation, and in all things that affect their external affairs obeying a common law and leaving the final decision to a national government.

In our time humanity is facing the question of an organization of the nations in a society of states. It is becoming clear that humanity is one, that the nations are the interrelated and interdependent members of one body, and that each nation is under obligation to take thought for the things of others, and to look not alone on the things of self but also on the things of others. It is necessary therefore for the nations that believe in world humanity and international justice to express their common life in some form of international organization. There is no such thing as absolute liberty for the individual; he is a part of society, and must be willing to accept his place in the social order and consent to have his interests measured by the welfare of all. There is no more justice for the claim of absolute sovereignty on the part of a nation than on the part of an individual. "Absolute sovereignty," says a suggestive writer, "means absolute anarchy." The one nation

must therefore think of itself as a part of humanity and learn to live with others in terms of justice and peace; it must realize that nothing can be really good for itself which is evil to the rest; it must come to perceive that whatever policy blesses all blesses each.

There are four possible ways in which nations may live together and may seek peace. These may be briefly noted:

1. *National Individualism.* This policy assumes that nations are separate and individual entities, each able to live its own life and sufficient unto itself for all things. This policy might have been possible when tribes were few and small, and men's needs were simple. But this policy is physically impossible to-day when nations are many and crowd one another. It is morally impossible also, for no nation can live unto itself or by itself. Each is dependent upon all, and all owe something to each. Beyond this, many forces are at work driving nations together and compelling them to have dealings with one another. The diverse productions of different peoples, trade and industry, railroads and even air routes, are all making for internationalism. Nations must have dealings with one another and depend upon one another. They must therefore come

into some kind of relations; this fact is certain and this tendency is irresistible.

As a matter of fact the nations have never lived apart, each separate and independent. Thus far the stronger has always aggressed upon the weaker and has sought to crush or absorb it; it is certain that a world of independent and competing states, strong and weak, would mean confusion and warfare. It is useless to talk about this policy as a remedy. It would be a reversal of history. It denies the unity of the human race. It would be impossible for small and weak states to maintain themselves in presence of the stronger. They would either decline, or more probably would enter into alliance with other peoples; or they would be conquered and absorbed by some great power. This would mean endless confusion and would create all the conditions of bitter wars.

2. *Imperialistic Groups.* In all times there has been a tendency toward the formation of empires, usually made up by the forcible combination of many peoples. The great empires of the past were formed in this way; and great as were the wrongs they caused, they yet did something to advance the race. In latter times this tendency has become very marked, and the world to-day is composed of a few imperialistic groups that practically

include all peoples. The smaller nations are being absorbed by the larger groups; in many ways this is an advantage to the smaller nations; it ensures protection against aggressive enemies, and it gives the benefit of trade with a larger unit.

This policy, as all history testifies, contains no guaranty of world peace. For in our time there has developed an enduring contest between these great empires for world mastery, control of trade routes, and new territory. Various imperialistic groups form alliances to beat other groups. There is an effort, in pretense at least, to maintain a balance of power; but every group insists that the balance shall be in its favor. It will never be possible for a few ambitious groups, competing and antagonistic, to live together in peace and ensure the welfare of the world. Peace that depends upon a balance of power is uncertain at best; such balance is always in unstable equilibrium and is easily upset. It will be equally impossible for any of these imperialistic groups, made up as they are of diverse peoples, to be at peace within themselves. Either the small peoples must suppress their aspirations, which they are not likely to do, or they will be in a state of chronic revolt. The world ought to have learned by this time from Assyria and Rome,

Russia and Germany, that this policy is fatuous and foolish. The formation of imperialistic groups, made up of suppressed peoples and living in unstable equilibrium, contains no guaranty of peace and really has made war more wide-spread. There is no hope of world peace in the policy of imperialism.

3. A third conceivable policy is World Dominion. This, as history mournfully testifies, has been the dream of many a man and people, from Sesostris, Alexander, and Cæsar, to Attila, Napoleon, and William Hohenzollern. But always and everywhere the dream has ended in the same way. Humanity is too diverse for any man or nation to control and combine all others. National and racial differences are ineradicable and persistent; they are sure to assert themselves soon or late, and bring to naught the plans of world conquerors. The attempt of any people to dominate the world is therefore a madman's dream. It is to be feared that there will be more madmen with this dream; but forever it will end in the same way. The world can never become the subject of any one nation. If it could be done, it would be only for a time. Humanity will never be the slave of any man or nation. It is a denial of God; it is a moral impossibility. If any

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modern nation, either Germany, Britain, Russia, or the United States, should ever be foolish enough to cherish that delusion, the sooner it is given up the better. That way lies disaster and not peace.

4. The only alternative is *World Federation*. It is useless to talk about a return to the old order. The attempt to break up the race into distinct and independent nationalities, some small, others large, would be a reversal of history. It is certain that the races will more and more tend toward consolidation and cooperation. Mankind that has once tasted the advantages of combination, is not likely to throw those advantages away. That would destroy progress, limit trade, bring no benefit to any one, and deny the unity of the race. The process of consolidation must go on if the race is to advance. But it cannot be promoted by the formation of imperialistic groups; it cannot come through the world dominion of one power. There is only one way out for the nations, and that is a genuine federation of all peoples. This is just and fair. It recognizes the right of each people, however small, to live its own life and develop its own institutions; but it recognizes the interdependence of all. It provides for the union of all for the sake of all; and so it provides a basis upon which there can be a

real community of life and interchange of gifts.

There must be a league of free nations, a federation of the world. In this direction several things may be noted : a. There must be a *world parliament* made up of representatives of the nations, to consider questions of common interest, to frame international laws, and to interpret world justice. b. There must be an *international court* to interpret international law and decide all questions that arise between nations and states according to accepted principles and laws. Any nation feeling itself wronged may submit its case to this court for adjudication ; and no nation shall be free to attack another till its case has been heard. c. There must be also an *international police force* large and strong enough to enforce international law against any offending member. This international police force should possess an army and navy stronger than that of any member ; in fact it should be the only army and navy in existence, and no nation must be permitted to gather deadly weapons. The time has gone by when the nations of earth can permit any freebooting nation to endanger the peace of the world. They cannot permit any international thug to aggress on weaker peoples, to steal their land, and crush them out of exist-

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tence. As the individual nation cannot permit individuals to make their own wishes supreme and endanger the peace of society, so the nations can no longer permit any people to run amuck and embroil the nations in war. The person who would live in society and enjoy its benefits, must come under the control of society. The nation that would live in the world and have dealings with other peoples, must be willing to honor international justice and live in peace. The nations must teach the disturber of the world's peace that aggression and war do not pay. They must provide that force and ruthlessness shall not succeed. They must affirm and establish the law of right among the nations. They must make every people know that if it is to have dealings with other peoples, such dealings shall be on the basis of justice and brotherhood. In fine, there must be a league of the nations with advantages so manifestly real that all will want to enter it.

III. The Democratic Control of Capital. Trade must come under the control of reason and morality and must be socialized and internationalized. It is recognized by all that the economic factor is a potent one in the life of men and nations. In fact, some have maintained that it is the final factor,

that it determines man's family and social life, that it influences potently, if it does not shape wholly, his ethical standards and religious ideals. Be this as it may, it is a powerful factor in life and society and determines many things. This is not all, but during the past generations there has been a remarkable industrial development among the nations. The world's supply of wealth has multiplied; surplus capital has increased, and this seeks profitable investment. This wealth has become incorporated and so has become impersonal. In a word, the competition of business and trade interests is one of the chief causes of international friction and war. The causes of the great world war are found here. "These causes," says David Jayne Hill, "run deep into the soil of trade rivalries." In outward form the causes of the war seem to be ambitions of rulers; but at bottom they are the contests of traders for economic advantage. "Modern wars are primarily trade wars. Modern armies and navies are not maintained for the purpose of ruthlessly taking human life or of covering rulers with glory. They are, on the one hand, armed guardians of economic advantages already possessed; and, on the other, agents of intended future depredation, gradually organized for purposes alleged to

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be innocent, and at what is esteemed the auspicious moment dispatched upon their mission of aggression.”²

In the past, as history shows, selfish and ambitious men have sought place and power at the expense of their fellows; they have schemed to gain control of government; they have used their power to conquer other peoples and ride roughshod over them. To sanctify their usurpations they have invented the doctrine of the divine right of kings, and thus have tried to keep the people in subjection. This political power appears as tyranny to the people within and a world conqueror to the people without. Through the centuries there has been an ever-growing revolt against this political imperialism; in the democratic movement this revolt has found definite voice and power. But in these later times there has come the growth of economic imperialism which threatens to be quite as evil and tyrannous as the old political imperialism. To-day the selfish and ambitious impulses of men find expression in the power of capitalism. As we have seen, there has been a remarkable increase of surplus capital; and this capital seeks power and profits wherever they can be found. So it obtains valuable privileges and concessions

² Hill, “The Rebuilding of Europe,” p. 34.

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in other lands, often by very doubtful methods; it then exploits weaker peoples; it calls upon the home government to have the flag protect investments; it foments wars and sends men forth to die all for the sake of bankers' profits. The political imperialism of the past committed unspeakable wrongs against mankind, as history mournfully records. But modern economic imperialism, though young in years, shows that it is capable of wrongs quite as outrageous; as witness Leopold's exploitation of the Congo, the Boer war, the seizure of Egypt, and the extermination of the Hereros. The world-old ambition to build an empire and control others and make gain for oneself has changed its form and method, but it is the same in inner spirit and motive. "The old imperialism levied tribute; the new imperialism lends money at interest."³

This spirit of economic imperialism is the chief cause of the world war. Pan-Germanism is simply economic imperialism. Germany demands the right to grow and expand; she demands a place in the sun; she insists that she must have opportunity to protect her interests and fulfil her divinely appointed destiny. But behind and beneath all the fine phrases there is the sordid scheme of

³ Brailsford, "The War of Steel and Gold," p. 65.

economic imperialism seeking power and profits. German manufacturers want to control the iron and coal resources of Belgium and France; they want raw materials from Africa and South America; German bankers want profitable investments in Turkey and Russia; German traders want to checkmate Britain in Asia and to control the trade routes of the world; in a word German imperialists want to make the world safe for their capital and trade. The power of capital is greater than the power of kings; economic imperialism is a standing menace to the world's peace.

The democratic movement must go forward and bring capital under the control of the people. Two aspects of this task may be mentioned, the internal and the external. "The reason for the too rapid export of capital abroad is in short the bad division of wealth at home."⁴ We must therefore bring wealth and industry under the control of society and must prevent the unjust and unsocial accumulation of capital at home. Democratic peoples have declared that political power cannot be trusted in the hands of one man or of a few men; by constitutional guarantees and a diffusion of power the people have protected themselves against autocracy

⁴ Brailsford, *ibid.*, p. 81.

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and tyranny. Democratic peoples must now declare that economic power cannot be placed in the hands of one man or of a group of bankers; by constitutional guaranties which shall define economic justice, by democratic diffusion of wealth and control of industry, the people must protect themselves against economic exploiters and autocrats. As long as industry is autocratic in form and method; as long as there is bad division of wealth at home, with the many laboring hard on small income and the few drawing large income and often doing no work and giving no equivalent, so long surplus capital will exploit weaker peoples and economic imperialism will be a world menace.

Then with the democratic control of wealth and industry at home it will be comparatively easy to prevent economic imperialism abroad. The nations must insist that capital and wealth must come under the control of the people and must be made to serve humanity. Exploiting weaker people in the interest of bankers' bonds and traders' dividends creates international friction and breeds war. "International trade rivalry is war smoldering." We know of course how these imperialistic schemes are coated over with fine phrases about the necessary flow of capital, the development of backward peo-

ples, the white man's burden, the survival of the fittest. But these are the very pleas with which autocrats and conquerors have always deceived themselves and awed the people. As the nations have united to make an end of political imperialism, so they must unite to make an end of economic imperialism. There must be no more exploitation of Africa by any nation. There must be open trade for all. The nations must make it forever impossible for a few men, whether autocrats of empire, captains of finance, barons of trade, or diplomats in secret, to plunge the people into war and murder the peace of the world. Never again must such power be lodged in the hands of a few selfish and irresponsible persons. The people must take the affairs of the world into their own hands. Autocrats, political or commercial, cannot be trusted with so much power. As democratic nations have denied the divine right of kings and have taken the affairs of state into their own hands, so all nations must deny the divine right of capital and must bring wealth under social control. They must say that autocratic and irresponsible capital seeking exorbitant profits by exploiting weaker people and fomenting trade rivalries is as outrageous and dangerous as autocratic and militaristic kaisers.

It is evident, therefore, if we are to have peace among the nations, that the mighty economic forces must be moralized and come under the control of society. The nations have created a veritable Frankenstein, and now the monster has grown so strong that he resents control; nay, he menaces his creator. The nations are in danger of being destroyed by the very power they have created. This is certain, that the economic life of the nations must be redeemed and moralized. Economic imperialism is a standing menace to the peace of the world. It is useless to talk of peace and to form leagues of nations so long as capitalism has its ways and sows the seeds of war. Unless the economic forces can be moralized and controlled, the nations will be exploited and we may expect a succession of murderous wars.

IV. The Earth for the People. The nations must take the next step, and control the resources of the earth in the interest of all peoples. What is the deeper meaning of life? What is that purpose which God is working out in the world? So far as we can read that meaning and purpose, it is the training of conscious beings in the divine art of living together. All the forces and factors of life, in the last analysis, contribute

to this end, whether they are what we call religious, moral, political, or economic. One aspect of this is vital here :

The different nations have different characteristics and traits. They inhabit different sections of earth, and these are characterized by wide diversities of climate, soil, productions, and resources. A nation may possess wide territory, as Russia or the United States, and be more or less self-sufficient. But no one nation is or can be sufficient unto itself; if it would live a full life and have a wide development, it must have dealings with other peoples; it must give of its fulness and receive of the resources of others. Trade, to be large and profitable, must be international. Raw materials are widely scattered, and one nation must depend upon others for supplies. All this creates our modern international problem and is a cause and condition of war. Thus far we have failed to solve it intelligently and justly; and war is the price we pay for this failure.

One principle must guide us here; in it we shall find the key to the problem. The principle of interdependence and control that we have accepted as true for the nation we must now accept as true for the world. The world is one family; no nation lives to

itself or for itself. The earth and its resources belong to the people. The principle of eminent domain is as true for the world as for the nation. In the last analysis the rights of men, whether rights of life or of property, are in society; so the rights of nations in position and resources are in humanity. For the person there is no such thing as an absolute right; no one can do as he pleases with his life or property. And society may require him to use these in such a way as to serve the common good. The same principle is true for nations. Each nation lives in humanity and for humanity. It holds its life and possessions in stewardship for mankind. No one nation can seize and take and use whatever it pleases. Humanity may require each nation to serve all; it may assert the principle of eminent domain and regulate the use of resources for the benefit of all. As in the stress and strain of war the various nations were compelled to take control of their natural resources, the means of transportation, the food supplies, the manufacturing apparatus, so the nations to prevent international profiteering and injustice must exercise supervision over the world's resources and control trade routes.

The way out for one nation within itself suggests the way out for all nations to-

gether. By federated action they must take control of the earth's resources and make these resources available for all mankind. Thus far the stronger nations have felt free to seize the territory of weaker peoples, obtain rich concessions often by chicane, and then exploit these to their own advantage against the people in possession. Thus great regions of the earth have been simply hunting-grounds for economic profiteers. Not only so, but one nation seeks to gain control of raw material for its own advantage; so it founds colonies to furnish rubber and cotton, coal and iron. Or one nation to gain raw materials provokes a war and forcibly annexes territory. There can be no justice and no peace in the world so long as these practices obtain.

Our course is clear. "The unlimited independence of sovereign states is as impossible and undesirable as the anarchical freedom of individual citizens."⁵ Justice and peace among the nations will come in precisely the same way as they have been approximated within the state, by the union and cooperation of all in law and right, by all protecting each and each serving all. As society has affirmed the principles of social stewardship for the person, so the nations

⁵ Brailsford, "The War of Steel and Gold," p. 324.

must affirm the principle of national stewardship for the world. We must affirm the old principle that the earth with its resources has God given to the children of men. We must say that it is against society's interest to allow any individual exclusive control of natural resources, to make them private property and exploit them to one's own advantage against the welfare of society. In like manner we must say that it is a wrong against humanity for any people to waste its resources, or for another nation to seize those resources and exploit them to its own profit. This does not mean that humanity shall seize the resources of any nation without its consent and use them for the benefit of all. For exploitation by humanity would be no better than exploitation by one nation. But it does mean that every people which would live in the world and have dealings with others, shall come under the reign of law, recognize its obligations as well as claim its rights, and agree to use its resources for the advantage of all. The nation that lives in fellowship with others through trade and travel must accept the fact of right and stewardship and supervision.

The nations must practise an international trade morality. We have a personal mo-

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rality and a church morality; but we do not have a trade inorality across international lines. Individuals believe that it is wrong to covet, to cheat, to steal, to kill; but only in a meager and partial way do they believe that it is equally wrong for traders and nations to do these things. Nay, many who condemn these wrongs when done by one man against another within the nation, fully approve these things when done in the interest of trade by one nation against an outside people. We must then keep open highways in the world and guarantee the freedom of the seas to all peoples. We must insist that the strategic points of the earth shall be internationalized and kept open to all. We must insist that the sovereignty of a nation shall end with its own boundaries and with its colonies, and that this sovereignty is never absolute but is always limited and relative in humanity. In a word, by principles of international morality, by international law, and by international trade we must create a presumption in favor of world federation, world justice, and world peace. We must internationalize the affirmations of our American democracy and must declare that we hold these truths to be self-evident, that all nations are created equal, that each has the inalienable right to

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be, to possess its own territory, and enjoy its own institutions, and that the international government of the world must rest upon the consent of the governed. It is sufficient for this generation to affirm these principles; their interpretation and application must be worked out in the future and organized into the policies of the nations.

The nations must prepare for peace as they have hitherto prepared for war. The defeat of Germany will settle nothing and ensure no peace unless the nations remove the causes of war and organize their international life on a basis of justice. Terms of peace that are arbitrary, that play with the destiny of any nation, however weak, that tolerate injustice and rest upon suspicion, contain the seeds of future wars. The nations must know the causes which lead to peace and be just enough to make peace possible. Peace is not a cause but a result. Righteousness is the only foundation on which a real peace can be built. "The fruit of righteousness is peace; and the effect of righteousness is quietness and confidence forever."

There is deep significance in the Scripture statement concerning the King of Salem, "first by interpretation King of Righteousness, and after that also King of Peace"

(Heb. 7 : 2). Righteousness must therefore be our first concern; let righteousness prevail among the nations and peace is certain. But peace without righteousness can never be real or lasting. Yet three fourths of the efforts to secure peace ignore this truth and try to find some way other than that of justice.

Other foundations can no man lay for social and international peace than have been laid. These foundations stand secure, and men and nations must build upon them if their work is to abide. God will overturn our works, and we shall have wars and confusions till we accept his foundations. We never shall have international peace till we have international righteousness. Peace does not come by cunning diplomacy or crafty compromises; it cannot be poised upon a balance of powers or be guaranteed by armaments. Peace is not assured when the fighting stops; it is only attained when justice is done. Diplomacy may patch up a truce; the sword may stop the aggressor and defeat his schemes. All this is at best negative and uncertain. Peace is positive. It rests upon justice and fair dealing, confidence and good will. Have the nations the mind to be just? Do they know what justice really means? These are supreme questions

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for our time and our nation. If the nations would have real and lasting peace—our nation along with other nations—they must learn to hunger and thirst after righteousness and be just in all their ways. They must have the sacrificial attitude of mind and look not alone on the things of self, but also on the things of others. Peace will come and reign as justice grows and lives. Thus far we have sought to find peace by agreement and compromise, by adjusting antagonisms of men and nations. We shall really find peace by establishing justice and associating nations in righteousness.

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VI

THE CHURCH AND THE CRISIS

He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit is saying unto the churches.—*The Revelation 3 : 22.*

All authority hath been given unto me in heaven and on earth. Go ye therefore and make disciples of all the nations, baptizing them into the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; teaching them to observe all the things whatsoever I commanded you.—*Matthew 28 : 18-20.*

It is not the province of the church as an organized body to dominate or to attempt to dominate the state politically, or to control specific legislative action; but it is its province to set forth and interpret the principles of the gospel of the kingdom so clearly to the entire life of the nation, that its citizens shall be moved to make the state, its politics, and its legislation the practical expression and realization of those principles.—*The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.*

Christianity must unite its own forces before it can effectively urge the nations to unite. It must federate its own sects before it can demand the federation of the world. There must be peace in the church before there can be peace on earth.—*President W. H. P. Faunce.*

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Thus far we have dealt mainly with the changes that are coming in the thoughts of men and the institutions of society. But our study would be incomplete if it ended here. We must go a step farther and consider the ideal which men are to seek in and through their plans and efforts. And we must consider also the power which can lift men out of themselves and send them out to serve in their day and to seek the kingdom of God.

All this leads us directly to the door of the church. For the church, we have been taught, has the truth which can set men free; the church claims to know that power which can charm away the sloth and selfishness of men, which can enlighten their minds and stiffen their wills in the service of the right. The church stands forth as the recognized teacher and guide of men and nations; and men and nations have the right therefore to look to the church for light and leading. This demand of the nations is the church's opportunity.

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If the church is to meet the present challenge it must undergo some radical changes. It finds itself in a changing world order and confronted with a new situation. It finds that new demands are made upon it and new tasks are calling. Men may say that the church never changes, that always and everywhere it is the same. But every one knows that such a statement is both unhistorical and absurd. Living things must change. An unchanging church would be a dead institution. The world is changing and the church as a part of the world must change with it. An unchanging church in a changing world order would mean collision and disaster.

It is too early for any one to foretell all of the changes that are coming; we need not try to lift the veil of to-morrow. It is enough to know that changes are coming, and then to accept them willingly and make the most of the opportunity. These changes will not mean any shifting in the essential truths of the gospel, for these stand fast forever. But they may mean some larger and truer apprehensions of these truths. They may not mean the breaking up of the present church bodies and the creation of some new and more comprehensive organization; and yet they may mean just that thing. They

will mean it unless the churches can find some way of being more effective and securing closer cooperation. But these changes will certainly bring a reconception of the essential gospel and a new emphasis in Christian teaching. They will demand a larger conception of the church's work and a new outlook upon the world. And they will find expression in new programs of service and new methods of work.

I. The Power of the Gospel. Divine truth is one thing and the human apprehension of that truth is a very different thing. The gospel is a treasure from heaven, but it is a treasure in earthen vessels. There is a clear distinction to be made between Christianity as a spirit and the churches in which that spirit incarnates itself. And yet the gospel is judged by the lives it makes and the church that exists. This is fair enough, for the gospel, so Christians claim, has power to beget Christian lives and to create a Christian church. In a real sense the fortunes of Christianity are wrapped up with the fortunes of the church; the church has power on earth to bind or release the potencies of the gospel.

Can the church answer the challenge and meet the opportunity of to-day? Has it light enough to guide the world? Has it

life enough to vitalize the nations? It is easy to indulge in platitudes about the power of the church; it is easy to talk about the church wielding a mighty influence and being able to handle the situation after the war. But the church did not or could not prevent the war itself. It did not or could not shape and dominate the civilization which grew up under its tutelage. What reason have we to suppose that it can or will control the forces of society and determine the civilization of the future? This talk about the power of the churches to handle the situation created by the war and guide the nations in the work of reconstruction may deceive those who want to be deceived. But it goes far to justify the saying that language was given to men to conceal thought; certainly much of this talk betrays an absence of knowledge. This is certain, that before the churches can meet the demand upon them there must be some thoroughgoing changes in the churches, both in their spirit and methods.

The issue is clearly drawn. To-day humanity is brought face to face with great evils that wreck human lives and cause untold misery. Here are such social evils as poverty and disease; we know that there is industrial injustice and strife; and before

us are the unspeakable horrors of the world war. These evils are here and they cannot be denied. Be it remembered that they exist in what is called Christendom, in those lands where Christianity has long been known and has become strong. We are not discussing the existence of poverty and disease among uncivilized tribes; we are not talking about injustice and wrong among pagan peoples; we are not discussing the possibilities of escaping war on the part of Christless nations. We are dealing with these things in so-called Christian lands and among Christian men. Poverty in a Christian land must not be tolerated. Industrial warfare among Christian men should be unthinkable. War between Christian nations is treason against the kingdom of God. The so-called Christian nations must stop war or stop claiming allegiance to Christ. The world will no longer accept excuses for these things. As the world expects a Christian man to be decent, honest, and truthful; so it may expect a Christian people to abolish poverty and injustice, and it insists that Christian nations must be just in their dealings and end war. The Christian nation that in the days to come makes itself responsible for war will have denied the faith and become worse than a heathen.

The alternatives are unescapable: Christianity must conquer these evils, or confess failure and stand discredited. We are told, "For this purpose the Son of God was manifested, that he might destroy the works of the devil." The Master declares, "I came not to condemn the world, but to save the world." If Christianity is what its followers claim, it is able to dissolve the doubts of men as they arise and to conquer social evils as they appear. If it cannot conquer every human evil it stands discredited. To admit that there is any evil too great for Christianity to conquer is to strike the scepter from the King's hand. If there is power in Christianity to conquer these evils, that power ought to be released and made effective. If the church is here to represent Christ's purpose and carry forward his work, the church must do what it is called to do, or get out of the way. And so the responsibility for social evils in Christian lands must be laid at the door of the church; and so the church that is true to its commission must give the potencies of the gospel an opportunity to work.

But let us see clearly the task before us. Christianity does not conquer evil by brute force; nor does it build the kingdom by magic means. The evils of the world are

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human, moral, social, spiritual; they find their roots in the selfish hearts, the ignorant purposes, the unjust practices, the perverse wills of men. The real conquest must therefore be moral and spiritual; sociology in the last analysis is a moral and spiritual science. The kingdom comes as fast as men learn to do justly, to love mercy, to be brotherly. The evils of the world are to be conquered in and through a change in the minds and hearts and wills of men. Men must gain new and true ideas and ideals; they must see the right and do it; they must see right ends and seek them in intelligent ways; they must come into just relations with one another; they must create right social institutions; in a word, men must learn to live as children of God and citizens of the kingdom.

It therefore comes back to this, that the churches are challenged to help the world in this trying hour and lead in the work of human redemption. We do not ask that the churches shall answer all questions in advance or give men a complete program of social work. But they can at least offer men the vision of a better world and give them a sense of direction in thought and effort. They can create in men a Christian state of mind and train them for effective

service in the kingdom. They can rally the men of good will, give them a wise and strong leadership, and send them out to fight the battles of the King and to build on earth the city of God. These things the churches can do and must do if they would honor Christ and carry off the prize of the world's allegiance. If there is no power in Christianity to inspire and move men to do these things, what advantage hath it over Buddhism or Confucianism? If the churches will not take Christianity seriously and allow Christ's power to have full scope, they should confess their sin and change their ways. Some things are implied in this which are worthy of mention.

II. The Churches must Give Men the Vision of the Kingdom of God. The Master gave men the idea of the kingdom of God and charged them to seek that kingdom first of all. That idea as it came from the Master was a great human, social hope, and it contemplated the realization in the earth of a new social order, founded upon righteousness, motived by love, and expressing itself in human brotherhood. But very early the church lost the vision of the kingdom and fastened its eyes upon other things. The idea of the kingdom faded into the background, and other and smaller ideas took its

place. Through all of the nineteen centuries the church has substituted itself for the idea of the kingdom. This substitution changed men's conception of the work of Christ; it changed their outlook upon the world; it changed their understanding of the work given them to do.

The consequence is that men have not had the vision of the kingdom of God on earth. They have not seen the religious meaning and kingdom value of the social institutions of life, as the state and industry. They have not known what to do in order to use these mighty institutions of life as means and agencies in the kingdom's advance. And they have not tried in any large and real way to Christianize all the relations and institutions of life. The most signal failure of the church has been its lack of vision, its narrowness, the smallness of its purpose. Christianity has suffered much from the wrong thinking of bad men, but even more from the small thinking of good men.

In our time men are regaining a larger and truer conception of the kingdom. This may be called the age of the rediscovery of the kingdom of God. It is becoming clear that the kingdom in Christ's conception never means anything less than a righteous social order. It may mean more, for while

the kingdom begins here, it does not end here. But it is certain that it never can mean less. They who believe in the kingdom of God are called to build a social order grounded in the will of God and in fulfilment of his great purpose. The kingdom of God is nothing less than the inner meaning of the world. It is the Alpha and the Omega of the Christian revelation. It is the one great far-off divine event to which the whole creation moves. It finds its consummation in the new heavens and the new earth wherein dwells righteousness. They who seek the kingdom of God expect a city of God on this earth, where righteousness is done and men live together as brothers. They who are seeking to build this city of God are moving in line with the great purpose of the Eternal. They have the prestige of the universe behind their plans; and the mighty powers of the gospel are pledged in their behalf. We need the idea of the kingdom of God that we may know the real goal of the world. We need the hope of the kingdom to put meaning into life, to fill the soul with a holy enthusiasm; and to set the feet of young men and young maidens marching into the morning, keeping step to the trumpet-calls of God.

III. The Churches must Teach Men how to Seek the Kingdom of God. The Master

charged them to seek the kingdom of God first of all. He interpreted clearly the law of the kingdom as love and showed that its spirit is brotherhood. He realized fully that the order he charged men to seek was constructed on different lines from that which prevailed among men. So he plainly declared that in the new order there was to be no lording it over others, but that greatness and success consisted in service of men and contribution to the common good. And he expected his followers to set about the work of constructing a social order based upon justice, motived by love, rooted in equality, a society in which each should have full opportunity, no one should be wronged, and all should have plenty.

He interpreted to men no less clearly the method of the kingdom. The kingdom comes in men and through men. It is not an order imposed upon men from above, but it comes in and through their own hearts and wills. It is not a purely mechanical order that comes automatically and unconsciously, but it must be sought by men, planned by them, advanced by their efforts. It comes as fast and as far as men want it to come. And it comes by the process of growth—first the blade, then the ear, after that the full grain in the ear. It comes by

a process of elimination—the King is all the time sending out his messengers to gather out of his kingdom the things that offend. It comes also by a process of permeation—it permeates all life, and transforms everything that it touches.

It is just here that we find the serious lack in our modern Christianity. One might suppose that by this time men would have a clear idea of the purpose of God and would know how they are to seek his kingdom. But most men are in the dark at this point; most of their programs are meager and partial, and they know how to do only a few of the kingdom's tasks. To many men seeking the kingdom of God means seeking the salvation of the soul and preparing it for life in heaven. To be active in Christian work means to take an interest in the church and promote its plans. All this is good as far as it goes, but it stops far short of the kingdom program. For the purpose of Christ demands the Christianization of all life. It summons men to the task of building up in the earth a Christian type of human society.

It is essential that men have a clear conception of the end they are to seek and the way to reach it. They must know what is implied in the kingdom of God; they must

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understand the forces and factors that God has ordained. They must understand the divine meaning of the great institutions of life, and know what are the kingdom ends they are to seek in and through the family, the Church, the State, the industrial order. They must know how to seek the kingdom of God through each of these institutions by itself and through them all in cooperation. In a general way men understand the Christian meaning of the church and know what to do in the church in behalf of the kingdom. But it has not dawned upon many people that the family, the State, and the industrial order have a kingdom value, and that through each and all, equally with the Church they are to advance the kingdom of God.

The search for the kingdom of God requires a good heart and an understanding mind. We never can build the kingdom of God till we understand the means and the agencies through which we are to work. We never can solve the problems before us unless we understand the laws of our economic and social life. There must therefore be an intelligent understanding of the forces and factors of society with a knowledge of ways and means. This intelligence must be much more general than is now the case; as

the kingdom is made up of people, it must be built by people. There must be a wise leadership, no doubt; but the rank and file of the people must have some conception of the issues involved with some knowledge of the way to meet them. Here is work for the home, to train the child and prepare it for social living. This demands a new system of education which shall seek to develop the mind and qualify the pupil for life. Above all, it lays a heavy obligation upon the church to teach the people, to create an intelligent attitude toward social questions and show people what to do and how to do it.

IV. The Churches must Create in Men a Christian State of Mind. One thing has become clear as we have proceeded with our study: The primary defect is found in the fundamental principles and ideals of men and nations. Before there can be any real and lasting change in the social order there must be a profound and radical change in the general mind of men. Men must cherish high ideals; they must see clearly their work; they must believe in the brotherhood of mankind; and they must be willing to pay the price of progress. The world must have a new heart and a different spirit before it can ever see the kingdom of God.

There must be a radical reconstruction in

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the spirit of men before there can be a new social order. The spirit of greed and selfishness must pass, and there must be the substitution of the spirit of love and service. Men must learn to regard one another as brothers and practise brotherhood in all relations of life. There must be the sacrificial attitude of mind which will lead all groups, both employers and employees, not to look primarily on the things of self, but to seek the good of all. There must be the effort to realize the principles of brotherhood and democracy in the whole life of society and industry. Without this spirit in the lives of men all plans and policies are foredoomed to failure. With these principles accepted by men and nations all else will follow.

Men must have an international mind before there can be a world federation. Nations must renounce the old false postulates of thought and diplomacy and must honor the true principles of internationalism. They must see and affirm that above the nation is humanity. The one nation must regard itself as a part of humanity and must agree to make the welfare of all its supreme concern. The nations must have more righteous and Christian principles before they can have a new diplomacy and a new world. There must be the willingness on the part of na-

tions to be just and brotherly, to cooperate for world good, and to express their world consciousness in international relations. Internationalism must first be a state of mind, an ideal, a chivalry, a religion, before it can be a reality and a system.

This brings us to the very door of the church. For it is the supreme business of the church to interpret the will of God to men, to make them know the mind of Christ, to teach them what to love and to seek, to determine the standards and ideals of men, in a word, to create a Christian attitude of mind. This realm of the mind and spirit is the peculiar province of the church. If it fails here, it fails pitifully. As it succeeds here, we can say that it is doing its real work. The church must create in those who come under its tutelage this Christian state of mind and must bend all its energies to this end. The church has many functions which it must fulfil; but it is certain that its educational function is second to none in value. The church has done much along this line, as history abundantly testifies. But in view of present needs it is evident that the church must take its educational task far more seriously than it has done. The church must be an educational institution in the best sense of the term, and must help the

people to know the will of God, teach them the whole truth of Christ, train them for sacrificial and effective service, give them an intelligent and Christian attitude toward all life, and send them out in conscious and determined ways to seek the kingdom of God in the world.

V. The Making of a Social Conscience is a Vital Part of the Church's Work. By conscience it may be said we mean those moral ideals and ethical principles which are disclosed to the soul, with the ratification and fulfilment of those ideals and principles by the man himself. By social conscience we mean those ethical ideals and principles which deal with men's social relations and actions and the convictions and obligations that they carry.

There are, of course, many agencies that are doing this work in part at least. The home is the primary unit of life, and determines in large part the ethical attitude of every person. But in few homes is there full recognition of the larger obligations of life or systematic training in social duty. The public schools are doing much to train mind and unfold its powers. But by the nature of the case the schools cannot concern themselves with the great ideals and religious principles of social life. The state

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is the organ of the political consciousness, and it assumes a consciousness lying behind its organization. The time will probably never come when the making of the people's conscience can be safely entrusted to the state's machinery. Beyond all this, moral principles have little power to warm the heart and compel the will till they have a religious ground and motive. This brings us back to the church as the only agency that has at once a divine warrant and social commission for this very work.

We have seen that social evils have human and social causes. It is easily possible for men to believe this and yet lose all sense of personal responsibility. This is the tendency to-day in some of our sociological thinking; this deals with social factors as heredity and environment; sometimes it deals with social evils as impersonal results and fails to note the human responsibility. Behind social evils are human sins and living sinners. What we call the economic and political factors are the outward and visible expression of moral will and spiritual forces. Men and nations are responsible for slums, poverty, crime, disease, misery, war. It is the business of the church to recognize this profound truth, to go behind the economic factors and political conditions,

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to the heart and conscience of men. Then by means of the evils of society and the tragedies of war it may reveal the sinfulness of sin and the need of repentance. Some time, when men have what may be called the social mind and have learned to see the relation between cause and effect, there will come to them a most deep and stinging conviction of sin. In the presence of city slums, tubercular children, the wastage of child life, poverty, the delinquent child, industrial strife, and world war men will stand with anxious hearts and troubled conscience. This is the business of the church, to create in men a permanently troubled conscience in the presence of social evils, a conscience that will give men no rest till they have cleansed themselves of all complicity and have changed the evil conditions.

The churches have a positive duty at this point. They must bring home to men a deep conviction of sin and must create a discriminating and active conscience. They must make all who call themselves Christians feel that themselves and their profession are steadily put to shame as long as a single wrong tarries in society, and a single life is without true inheritance in the world. They must make men feel themselves charged with the welfare of the downmost man and

must send them out in a missionary effort in his behalf. As long as a wrong tarries in the community, as long as stumbling-blocks are placed before men, as long as child life is snuffed out in filthy tenements and girlhood is outraged, so long the church must search men through and through with the merciless fire of self-examination and must summon them to bring forth fruits meet for social repentance.¹

VI. ~~The Churches must Lead Men in the Thorough Reconstruction of the Social Order.~~ Something is wrong with modern society. Something is wrong with a civilization that contains within itself such possibilities as the world war. These defects as we have seen in earlier chapters are fundamental and are a part of the social structure itself. So long as these defects remain we shall have social evils in continuous outflow. So long as these defects remain we shall work at a disadvantage in the work of helping men. The work of reconstruction must therefore go deeper than symptoms and palliatives; it must deal with fundamental principles and social institutions; it must in short seek to construct a new social order

¹ See Prof. Ross's keen analysis of social sin in "Sin and Society," and an article by the writer in "The American Journal of Sociology," March, 1902, on "The Church as the Maker of Conscience."

on Christian foundations that shall realize the ideal of the kingdom of God.

In the work of building the new social order we must beware of patchwork and piecemeal effort. Half-way measures have made the tragedies of history. Piecemeal effort has been largely wasted. Nay, worse, much of this effort has diverted men from the true path and sent them off on side-issues. There are no isolated reforms. The fundamental defects are with society itself, in its ideals, its principles, its methods, its organization. The effective reconstruction must be fundamental and thoroughgoing. This work is a unit. It must deal with life as a whole and seek a new world. We need to remember that Christ has not come to patch up the old order, but to make all things new. But, as a significant article in the "Contemporary Review" says, "The church has been trying to referee the game of civilization as the world now plays it rather than to revolutionize the game itself."

Those who believe in the kingdom of God are squarely committed to the work of building a new social order. They are called to a lifelong, unsurrendering fight against all injustice and evil. They are to take sides with God against all disorder and ignorance, all cruelty and vice, against every enemy of

man and every wrong in society. More than that, they who expect the kingdom of God are called to the work of social redemption; they are to seek in a positive and constructive way the kingdom and its righteousness; they are to get the will of God done and to make justice prevail. They are to find the flaws in the social order and mend these; they are to go out and build a social order after the pattern shown them in the kingdom of God. We are not here to keep things fixed. We are not called to accept things as they are and bid men to endure the evils of the world. We are here rather to give men the hope of the kingdom and arouse them to seek that kingdom and its justice with all their might. We accept the present social order as far as it is just, and no farther. We are not here to mitigate the evils of society, but to challenge their right to be, to oppose them, and in the name of Jesus Christ to destroy them. Too long we have accepted poverty and disease, saloons and slums, industrial strife and deadly wars as a matter of course, perhaps as necessary, as more or less inevitable in the present order. Too long God has been regarded as sending plague and pestilence, famine and disease, blindness and feeble-mindedness, for some mysterious reasons, perhaps for

our discipline. So men have taken a fatalistic attitude toward these evils and have felt that little could be done, for the present at any rate, to change the world. In face of social injustice and political wrong there has been a quiet submissiveness, the half feeling that rebellion against these was a denial of God's will. The power of Christianity which should have turned the world upside down and destroyed its evils, has been turned into a means of making men submissive and keeping things as they are. The gospel has been an anodyne, God's will a submission.

All this must pass and we must have a true conception of the gospel. Christianity is not a passive, static, fixed thing, but is an active, dynamic, revolutionary power. The will of God is not a submission only, but a dedication as well. Christ has not come to keep things as they are, but to make all things new. He has come not to accept the evils of the world, but to destroy the works of the devil. The kingdom of God is a revolutionary idea and is a direct challenge to every evil of the world. These evils are not the will of God at all; they are not to be accepted and endured; they are rather to be challenged and destroyed. Contentment with the world as it is amounts to treason against the kingdom of God. Accep-

tance of the evils of the world as inevitable is a denial of the Cross of Christ. The will of God means the redemption of the world, and it is a declaration of warfare against everything that hurts man and opposes the kingdom. The will of God is being done in the earth as slavery, pain, disease, poverty, injustice, crime, oppression, war, are conquered, and freedom, health, joy, safety, bread, and peace are realized among men. "The true God," says H. G. Wells, "is not a spiritual troubadour wooing the hearts of men and women to no purpose. The true God goes through the world like fifes and drums and flags calling for recruits along the street." The church must regain the Christian conception of the kingdom of God and must stand for Christ in the social order. It must believe in justice and must teach men to hunger and thirst after righteousness. It must develop in men a hatred of evil and must send them out to destroy every work of evil. It is the duty of the church to witness for the true order of the world, to declare that social evils are unnecessary and can be cured, to interpret to men the means and methods of social redemption and unite them in the tasks of the kingdom.

VII. The Church must Develop in the Hearts of Men a Spirit of Faith in the King-

dom and its Coming. Men are eager to know if there really be a kingdom of God and a way to realize it on earth. They want to know whether life is a forlorn hope or whether a better world is really possible. They never can seek the kingdom first and wholly till they know that there is a kingdom of God and that God wills it and ordains it. They will never face their problems in a brave spirit unless they believe those problems can be solved. It is the business of the church to witness for God and for his kingdom, to certify that this is a redeemed world, to create in men a spirit of faith, and to send them out to build the kingdom of God.

One thing, however, is vital here as the basis of thought and the inspiration of effort. We do not have to create the kingdom of God or invent a new social order. We need rather to know that God is King and his kingdom is a reality. The kingdom of God is the very meaning of the universe, its beginning, its power, its goal. That kingdom is here beneath all of our lives; it is here upholding the life of the family and the order of the state; it is here constituting the bond of humanity and interpreting the processes of society. The fact of God's kingdom is as real as the world, and its coming

is as certain as the sun's rising. We do not make this kingdom more certain by our faith; for that kingdom rests upon God and not upon men. But our faith puts us in harmony with the kingdom and its law; our faith saves us from sloth and uncertainty and sends us out to do the King's will and live as citizens of his kingdom.

The world can be made a great deal better than it is. The scientist knows that a stronger, healthier, better race is easily possible. The sanitarian knows that our cities can be made perfectly clean, smokeless, wholesome, and sanitary. It is possible to have pure air and pure water for all. Every city could have schools for children and playgrounds for all. In a few years we could get rid of the great scourges of tuberculosis and typhoid fever; we could reduce the death-rate one-half in ten years and abolish many diseases entirely. We could abolish abject poverty in a generation and could lift this heavy handicap from the shoulders of millions. We could lighten the economic slavery that binds three-fourths of the people to treadmill tasks, and give every life a fair inheritance in society. We could drain all swamps, irrigate whole regions of the earth, increase the fertility of the soil, ensure every family an adequate income

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and a sanitary home. We could fill the world with health and beauty and joy and peace. All these things we could do in a few years if we believed that we could accomplish them and were willing to pay the costs of progress. We could do this if we had the believing attitude of mind, if we had imagination enough to see that the evils from which we suffer are needless, if we would give thought to understand how these evils can be cured, if we would just begin to unite our forces and work together for the common good. Nothing prevents the coming of a better world except the unbelief and unwillingness of men. We have science enough, religion enough, conscience enough, for a gigantic creative effort. But alas, these are scattered about the world, unorganized, and half wasted. If men would only believe in the kingdom of God and the coming of a better world, their very faith would make that world possible. So long as men are of doubtful mind concerning the kingdom and question the right of righteousness to be triumphant, they will be of divided mind in their work and will put themselves off with half measures. But if they would only believe the good news of the kingdom and would go forward in the will of God, their very belief would make the

better order easy and would show the kingdom at their doors. And so it comes to this, that the supreme work of the church is to cultivate the believing attitude of mind and unite men in the kingdom's advance. "The kingdom of God is at hand; change your mind; believe the good news that the kingdom is coming, and you shall see the kingdom around you."

VIII. The Churches must Find Some Way of Expressing their Common Life and of Cooperating for the Kingdom of God. The Master, within the shadow of the cross, prayed that his disciples might be one. He declared that "By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one for another." Then the world would believe that the Father had sent the Son to be the Saviour of the world. In face of this our present divided Christendom is the great scandal of the church. It really denies the redemptive work of Christ and defeats his reconciling purpose. It makes it impossible for the churches to give a united and potent testimony. It makes the gospel appear as a fractional and provincial matter. It compels the churches to present a broken front to the enemies of the kingdom. In view of this the question of Christian union is one of the vital questions before the world.

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These divisions of the church lessen the power of the gospel. The churches are doing much for God and for man; they are the only institutions that stand for Christ and his Cross in the world. But not a tithe of the possible power of the churches is really effective in community life. And these divisions in the church delay the cause of world brotherhood. The vital need just now is an international mind, a consciousness of the unity of humanity. Christianity comes to men with its truth of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of mankind. But alas, the churches cannot witness for these great truths except in a very limited and partial way. How can a divided Christendom witness for cooperation and brotherhood? The churches by their very names and profession are provincial and partial. How can the Roman and Greek churches witness for the unity of humanity? It is within the truth to say that the divided churches have been one of the strongest factors making for particularism and nationalism. It seems vain therefore for the churches to talk about the unity of humanity and the society of nations till they have found some way of expressing their common life and cooperating in world redemption.

What can be done to promote this desired unity? There is little use of discussing the question of church union, for that at present is a purely academic question. It may be many long years before any advance can be made in that direction. Perhaps when the churches have regained the idea of the kingdom of God and a new generation has grown up under the spell of that ideal, the frank discussion of this question may be possible. For the present the question of church federation and cooperation is possible and practicable, and this should be emphasized.

There are many ways in which believers in Christ may express their common life and cooperate for kingdom ends. They can regain the idea of the kingdom of God and make it central in their thought and life. They can unite in social tasks and unite all men of good will in their accomplishment. In our communities many things are possible; in fact many things are being done. The churches are cooperating in temperance work, in protecting children, in securing better housing, in working for better industrial conditions. Let them encourage all such activities; let them find some way of making a full impact of their religious life upon society and the nation. Let

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them also look above their partialisms and emphasize the universal elements of the gospel; let them witness in thought and practice for the brotherhood of mankind and the unity of the nations. And one day they will find that interest in incidentals has disappeared and they are really one—one, not in creedal forms perhaps, or church policies, but one in the unity of the Spirit, one in desire to seek a common kingdom and honor a common Lord.

The church needs faith, courage, devotion. It needs faith in God and in the coming of his kingdom, faith in the right of righteousness to be triumphant, faith that the world can be made a great deal better than it is, faith that labor for the kingdom will not be in vain. It needs courage to face the evils of the world without flinching, courage to search for the deeper causes of social evils and deal with those causes, courage to have done with compromise and half-way measures and go the whole length with Jesus Christ, courage to break with the rulers of politics and finance if necessary and stand with Jesus Christ for brotherhood and justice. It needs devotion to pay the costs of progress, self-sacrifice to hold talent, property, life itself as a stewardship for the kingdom and its justice, the

crucified spirit which makes men willing to bear the reproach of Christ and sees beyond the Cross the redemption of the world. If the church had the faith, the courage, the devotion, it might lead men into the kingdom of God. If the church were indeed crucified with Christ, it might become the very power of God unto salvation of society. Nothing but a crucified Christianity can ever win the world to a crucified Christ.

The church of to-day faces the greatest challenge and has the supremest chance of her long history. The church holds the key of humanity's unsolved problems. The church has the only gospel that contains any promise for the world. Never have men felt the woes of humanity so keenly. Never have such vital questions been up for a hearing. One and all, the helpers and saviors of the world have failed. Men have tried science, and it has failed; they have tried education, and it is impotent; they have tried compromise, and it has brought only confusion; they have tried diplomacy, and it has resulted in war. When half gods go, then God arrives. There never has been such an opportunity for the church as to-day. The field has never been so free for a religion of reality and power. For the present a large part of the church's work is to witness for

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the kingdom of God and its righteousness and keep alive in men the hope of a new social order. It can create in men a permanently troubled conscience over the evils of society and can hearten men in their search for justice and progress. In the gospel of the Son of God there are spiritual potencies now untouched but wholly beyond our imagination to measure. For the present the churches can incarnate these potencies in the lives of Christian men and through these lives can release them into the world. The churches can give Christ his rightful place as Master and King and can enthrone the Cross in their very life. A crucified and potent church contains the promise and potency of redemption of the world and the establishment of the kingdom of God.

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